



Joe Klein on
The Meaning
Of Palinmania

War on Terror III:
The Front Moves
To Pakistan



Are Teen Girls
Growing Up
Too Fast?

TIME

21 WAYS TO FIX UP AMERICA

SECOND
ANNUAL
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ISSUE

McCain
and Obama
reveal their
plans for
national service







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To Our Readers

What We Can Do. With a special report and by co-hosting a major summit, TIME challenges thinkers and leaders to reimagine national service

AMERICA IS THE ORIGINAL DIY CULTURE—
Do It Yourself. From the first settlement at Jamestown through today, we have been doing things ourselves.

Last year I wrote a cover story called "The Case for National Service." Now that the argument has been made, this year we're asking, How do we help execute that vision? Well, by doing it yourself—except in this case, we have hundreds of partners.

We became a co-sponsor this year of a national-service summit whose mission is to make national service a reality for all Americans. We partnered with Service-Nation, a new coalition of 110 organizations dedicated to volunteer service, to convene a two-day gathering in New York City, on Sept. 11 and 12, that we're confident will have a lasting significance.

The thinking behind the event was simple: Let's bring together scores of thinkers and leaders in government, business and the nonprofit world to trade ideas for solving our greatest challenges through national service and civic engagement. Our partners have been formidable. The organizers include Alan Khazei of Be the Change, Michael Brown of City Year and John Bridgeland of Civic Enterprises. Joining me as co-chairs are Vartan Gregorian, president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York; Alma Powell, who runs America's Promise Alliance; Bill Novelli, CEO of AARP; Laysha Ward, president of Community Relations and the Target Foundation; and Caroline Kennedy, whose father framed the mission best: "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country."

It was decided that Day One—on Sept. 11, the anniversary of one of the greatest challenges this country has faced—would be devoted to the Service-Nation Presidential Candidates Forum at



SERVICE NATION

www.sandiego.org

Woodruff was tasked with asking McCain and Obama how they would try to keep citizens from



Serving up ideas Hatch, Ted Kennedy, Schwarzenegger, Miley Cyrus and Powell, clockwise from top left, help TIME answer the challenge of how to serve America.

Columbia University. In their first joint appearance since becoming the official nominees of their parties, John McCain and Barack Obama would separately and in turn discuss their vision for national service—and how they would try to inspire the country with that vision. It is a tribute to their commitment to this issue that they both agreed to participate in the event with only seven weeks to go before Election Day. In back-to-back interviews, they agreed to answer questions presented by me and *USA*'s political editor Judy Woodruff—and by you, via questions submitted online in the days before the event.

This is our second annual national-service special issue. Put together by a team that includes Jeremy Caplan, Laura Fitzpatrick, D.W. Pine and Julie Rawe, it contains 27 ways Americans can

volunteer—right now. Bridgeland and John Dilulio Jr. suggest rethinking the kind of service we associate with Christians. Colin Powell and Arnold Schwarzenegger each explain the passion they have for creating structures that foster civic engagement. And Ted Kennedy and Orrin Hatch talk about their Senate bill aimed at promoting national service.

We call it "21 Ways to Serve America." This is about practice, not theory. As I said, America is a do-it-yourself culture. And at TIME we believe that even fixing the world can be a nifty project.

Cick

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

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10 Questions.

The Fox News host's memoir, *A Bold Fresh Piece of Humanity*, is out this month. **Bill O'Reilly will now take your questions**



Next Questions

Ask Alec Baldwin your questions for an upcoming interview, at time.com/10questions

As a working-class kid who attended Harvard, what was your impression of the student body and faculty?

Alfred Basso

CHARLESTON, S.C.

Well, the faculty at the Kennedy School of Government was pretty good when I was there. The most interesting class I had was Persuasion, and I used a lot of the points I learned there on the air to try to get people to listen to you, and to make your point so that they understand it.

Have you ever changed your mind on an issue as a result of an interview you've done?

Ben Doty, SYCAMORE, ILL.

I am open to hearing [a subject's] point of view, but I must tell you that we are very thoroughly researched. It's not Larry King, with all due respect to Mr. King. When I come in, I come in armed and dangerous. But if somebody impresses me, I'll think about it more, and if I change my mind, I'll tell the audience.

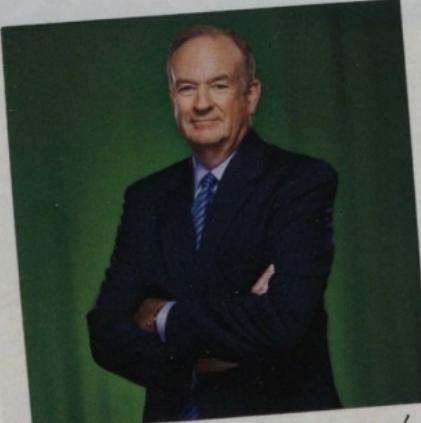
Everyone calls you a conservative, but you classify yourself as independent. Why?

Stephen Wells, TORONTO

I hold some traditional conservative positions, absolutely, but I hold liberal positions as well. When I go out on the street, the real conservatives look at me askance: How come you're not attacking Obama? How come you believe in global warming? But that's never picked up by the left-wing media.

Would you ever consider working for CNN or any news network other than Fox News?

Raymond La, STUART, FLA.



*Time Magazine people
ARE NOT PINHEADS!*

I work for people. I don't work for a network. So if there's a person over there who I respect, and they wanted me to do a certain thing, I would consider it.

You have become a more vocal supporter of environmental policies in recent years. Was there any particular event that prompted this change?

Saleem H. Ali, BURLINGTON, VT.
I've always been a green guy ... ever since I read *Silent Spring*, by Rachel Carson. Obviously, we have to have energy here, but why we don't have alternative energy, like Brazil, is a scandal. As far as what I can do, I have to travel quickly, therefore I use transportation that uses energy, but I hardly use gas anymore. I'll walk.

Do you think it's O.K. to say "shut up" to someone you are interviewing?

Daniel Cruz, WATERBURY, CONN.
I've said "shut up" six times in 12 years, and they all deserved it. They were either blabbering, filibustering or lying.

After a contentious interview, what kind of dialogue takes place during commercial breaks?

Brent Taylor, DALLAS
I've never had anybody be angry with me in a commercial break. I mean, they know what they're getting into coming in here. In the beginning there were a couple people that were startled, but now even the dimmest person knows what *The O'Reilly Factor* is, and they're going to be challenged.

Given your defense of Sarah Palin's judgment on Bristol Palin, do you take back what you said about Jamie Lynn Spears' pregnancy—that her parents were to blame?

Emil Caillaux, LIMA

When I talked about the Spears parents, I said the parents were pinheads because they didn't supervise their young daughters. I stand by that remark. There's no evidence that the Palins did not supervise their daughter or their other children.

Did your interview with Barack Obama change your opinion of him?

Edward Pniawski

LANSING, MICH.

I don't endorse candidates, and I don't tell people who to vote for, but I learned something about him: that he's a sincere man and a tough guy. His policy is what he says it is. He's no phony. He's telling you: I'm going to set up a big government apparatus, I'm going to redistribute income and I'm going to use more soft power than hard power abroad. What he says is what he believes.

If your story were made into a movie, who would you want to play you?

Andrew Y.H. Sun, LOS ANGELES
Clint Eastwood is 78, but maybe at 52 Clint would have been the guy. Absolutely would have been the guy.



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

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Afraid that the ax is about to fall? How to clean up your act and avoid the chop in a slumping economy.

Understanding urgency—or stopping the 24/7 clock

BY ANDREA SACHS



Bulletproof Your Job:
4 Simple Strategies
To Ride Out the Rough
Times and Come
Out on Top at Work
By Stephen Visconti
Collins Business; 171 pages

SO YOU'RE SITTING AT YOUR DESK, WAVES of anxiety running through you. Your industry is going through rocky times, or worse, there are rumors of a layoff at your company. Corporate loyalty is history. Outsourcing is moving up the food chain. Is there anything you can do to protect your job? Not always, but this book offers a good road map for surviving an economic downturn. Don't sit there smugly and assume that your sterling credentials will save you, says the author bluntly: "Got a swanky Ivy League degree? How nice. Here's the cold hard truth: if you don't click with your boss, all that merit and pedigree won't get you anywhere when your job is on the line."

Visconti is a believer that a last-minute conversion to better business behavior can improve your chances for continued employment. The author's manifesto on how to be a winning employee is neatly divided into four major pieces of advice: **Be Visible** "If your superiors don't see you or know who you are, you're very easy to let go," he says. That means showing up early and leaving late. (This is the Sneaky Pete School of Management, though. It's fine to arrive five minutes earlier than your boss and leave 10 minutes later.) Skip the two-hour lunches, and go to all those boring meetings.

Be Easy This is a toxic time to kvetch. There are easy babies and cranky babies, and you know which one you are. "Does your commute suck? Too bad," says Visconti with a big dollop of tough love. "Is your cubicle too small? Don't want to hear it." **Be Useful** Going that extra mile will label you as an asset: "It's time to become Mr. or Ms. Above and Beyond." Be a utility player who is capable of filling



in anywhere, or be a specialist and razzle-dazzle your superiors.

Be Ready Just in case your last-minute maneuvers don't pan out, the author strenuously advocates fortifying your position with a solid bank account, a fresh résumé and a network of contacts.

Even though these tactics can work, it's still better not to wait till late to recast your image, say Visconti and other job experts. "Don't be the employee that the clock is already ticking on," warns John J. Haggerty of the Cornell University ILR School. "The best thing to do is rely on the record that came before. We're looking in the rearview mirror." In other words, shape up or get shipped out.



A Sense of Urgency
By John P. Kotter
Harvard Business; 196 pages

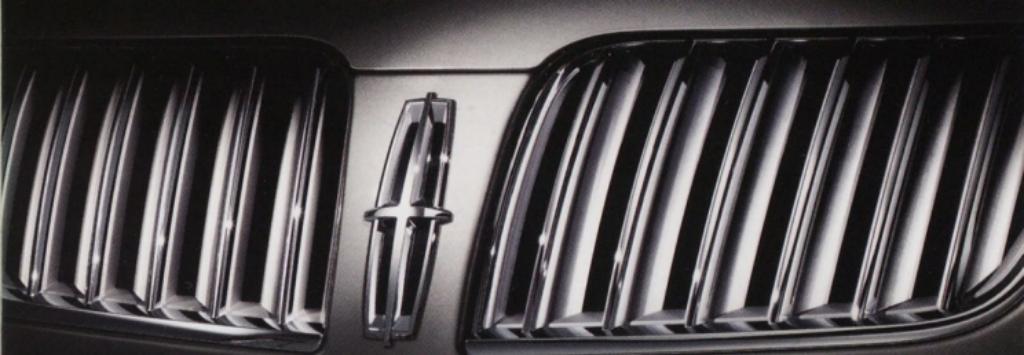
COMPLACENCY IS THE enemy of corporate success, says management guru Kotter. So he tries to light a fire under America's managers. But be careful, he warns: There's constructive, true urgency, and there's destructive, false urgency. "With an attitude of true urgency, you try to

accomplish something important each day, never leaving yourself with a heart-attack-producing task of running one thousand miles in the last week of the race," he says. False urgency is marked by frenetic activity, meeting upon meeting, task force after task force and an anxious, angry and frustrated workforce. Guess which urgency is more common?



OverSuccess: Healing The American Obsession With Wealth, Fame, Power, and Perfection
By Jim Rubens
Greenleaf; 451 pages

THE AUTHOR'S OWN brush with American urgency has soured him on the 24/7 work life: "The intention of this book is to free me and tens of millions like me from the hamster's treadmill," he says. Rubens ties mindless ambition in the U.S. to major depression, addiction, personal and public debt and even the popularity of *American Idol*. "Unless we change our nation's culture," he cautions, "we will die alone and unhappy with our basalt countertops, Sub-Zero wine storage and massive credit-card debt." Wait—is that bad?



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A year changing lives

Announcing the Bentley College/City Year give a year Partnership

Social responsibility has always been a core element of Bentley's educational philosophy. Now, a groundbreaking partnership with City Year takes that commitment even further. Bentley students who opt to "give a year" of national service with City Year will receive scholarship support, gain internship opportunities with leading global organizations and earn service learning credits. Bentley President **Gloria Cordes Larson** and City Year CEO and Co-Founder **Michael Brown** explain how this new partnership can "change the world."

Q: As a Founding Partner of the "give a year" program, Bentley—a business university—seems to elevate the importance of civic engagement. Why?

GCL: Because corporate social responsibility is part of our DNA. We have one of the oldest business ethics centers in the country. We are service-learning pioneers. And we are putting resources into something we really believe in—\$1,000,000 in scholarships underscores our commitment.



Bentley is preparing global citizens through a rigorous business and liberal arts curriculum, integrated with civic engagement.

What excites you most about this new venture? MB:

We've always believed that service should be an essential part of higher education. Bentley is making it happen.

GCL: Our mission is to prepare future

business leaders with both the skills and the values needed to solve world problems.

I can't think of a better way to accomplish that goal.

Many Bentley students want careers in highly competitive business fields. Why should they take

a year off for community service? MB: Actually, we think of this as a year on, not a year off. **GCL:** Many students want to build professional skills while maintaining their sense of idealism. This is an enormous opportunity to develop transferable leadership skills that will take them anywhere they choose to go.



George Devaney
City Year Alumnus

Elba Valerio
Bentley College '05,
City Year Alumna

Peter Whaley
City Year Senior Corps Member

deserves credit.

The City Year experience has been described as "transformative." How so? **MB:** Simply put, it turns on the "justice nerves." For young people, it's intensive and eye-opening, and it challenges all their preconceptions. This experience changes the lives of children and communities—and can transform one's outlook forever.



City Year unites young people of all backgrounds for a year of full-time service, giving them skills and opportunities to change the world.

Ultimately, will the "give a year" program be good for business? **MB:** The marketplace is already demanding a higher level of corporate social responsibility—organizations need the kind of leadership we are fostering. **GCL:** This has the potential to fundamentally change the way business sees its role in the world. I believe we're at a tipping point—"give a year" will be a push in the right direction.

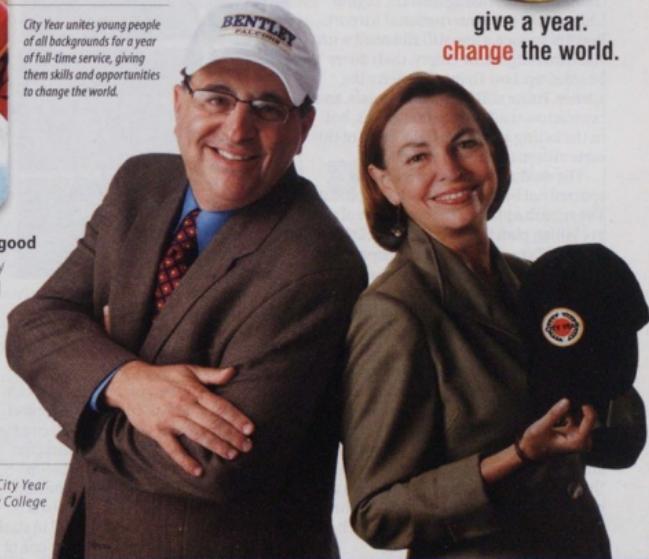
What are your hopes for the future of the "give a year" program?

MB: At City Year, we're hoping a year of service will become a civic rite of passage for all young people.

GCL: And I'm hoping that more colleges and universities will immediately come aboard. I'd like to be the "Founding Partner" for about five minutes!

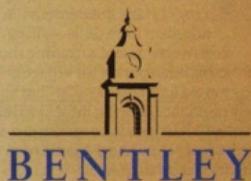


give a year.
change the world.



Michael Brown CEO and Co-Founder of City Year
Gloria Cordes Larson President, Bentley College

Learn **MORE** about the "give a year" partnership at bentley.edu/giveayear



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Postcard: Bensenville

As one of America's most congested airports modernizes, a suburb in its shadow faces demolition. **Hoping for one more delay at O'Hare**

BY ALEX ALTMAN

WHEN THE PEOPLE LEFT, THE ANIMALS moved in. Deer, skunks and rabbits creep through the streets of Bensenville, Ill., a blue collar community nestled against the edge of Chicago's O'Hare International Airport. Rows of houses, a few still ribboned with Christmas lights, lie empty, their doors boarded up. Low-flying jets pierce the silence. Police still patrol for vandals, and contractors tend to unkempt lawns, but in the fading afternoon light, parts of this eerie village resemble a ghost town.

The exodus from Bensenville was spurred not by decay but by development. The suburb squats in the crosshairs of a \$15 billion plan to ease gridlock at O'Hare, the world's second busiest hub, by adding more parallel runways. For the past three years, the O'Hare Modernization Program (OMP) has been gobbling up land in a 300-acre (120 hectare) "acquisition area" that comprises about 15% of the village. Ninety-five percent of the neighborhood's 542 homes are plastered with signs proclaiming them Chicago property.

Though the OMP paid market prices for the homes and businesses it acquired and assisted residents with relocation, the area's 28 remaining homeowners are refusing to move—and seething at the plan's champion, Chicago mayor Richard Daley. "The city's pitch was, 'We're going to take your home one way or another,'" says Joseph Karaganis, Bensenville's attorney. "Sell voluntarily, or we'll take you to court to condemn your property." Daley, says 25-year resident Roberta Baird, "is like the bully on the playground who wants all the toys."

Bensenville was founded in 1884 after Chicago cemented itself as the nexus of the nation's railroads, and it hasn't strayed far from its middle-class roots. Despite its modest homes, the village offers residents perks like free transportation to doctors' offices and a Father's Day fishing derby. Locals tout its safety, schools and



Home alone Bob Rackow is one of the last remaining residents of his Bensenville neighborhood

affordable living standards. "I don't want to leave the town, and I don't intend to," insists Arlene Benson, 83.

By Chicago's calculation, Bensenville is a necessary casualty. "This is a project of national significance," says Rosemarie Andolino, the OMP's executive director, who rattles off the airport-expansion plan's hefty benefits: up to 195,000 new jobs, an annual \$18 billion boost in economic activity and the potential to slash average passenger delays at one of the country's most congested airports from 24 min. to 5 min.

Her message seems to be resonating: scores of nearby communities favor revamping O'Hare. But Bensenville president John Gels—citing cost overruns and a funding shortfall—argues that part of his village is being gutted for a runway that "has absolutely no chance of being built." Further, he notes that increasing capacity just as soaring fuel prices nudge the aviation industry into a tailspin may be a fool's errand. (Andolino maintains that construction is on track: in November, O'Hare will unveil its first new runway since 1971.)

While residents call their fight a David-vs.-Goliath battle, the village may soon be forced to pocket its sling-shot. Last month a county judge dissolved an injunction that had prevented Chicago from razing the acquisition area until the environmental impact could be measured. Unless an appeals court steps in as Bensenville's 11th-hour savior, the path is clear for the bulldozers to start rolling. And while 14 million cubic yd. (11 million cubic m) of dirt have already been moved in the reclamation, a small plot of sacred soil continues to stoke debate: the project's footprint covers the 1,300 graves in St. Johannes Cemetery, which the city says it will be forced to unearth. The forecast for the 159-year-old site darkened in May when the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear the case.

Amid these legal skirmishes, neighborhood holdouts vow not to be strong-armed out of the community where they nurtured careers and families. "How can [Chicago] come in here and say, 'I'm taking your home?'" asks longtime resident Gail Flores. "This is America."



Global Dispatch

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Inbox



McCain: Temper of the Times

ALTHOUGH I AM TROUBLED BY THE REFUSAL of Senator John McCain to answer many of the questions asked of him, the emphasis TIME placed on that aspect rather than on his answers on the issues is another example of the media's liberal bias [Sept. 8]. I was disappointed that the vast majority of your interview with McCain was devoted to his "prickly" attitude, when the full version of the interview on TIME.com had much more substance.

Alanna Rice, COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA

YOUR SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE REPUBLICANS bent over backward to present McCain as an honorable man, but the transcript of your bizarre interview, in which McCain refused to answer simple and legitimate questions, was frightening. It showed a resentful, uncommunicative and uncooperative McCain who was

uncomfortable with the straight talk he used to be known for and who had a chip on his shoulder the size of a sequoia. Such a volatile temperament renders him unfit to have his finger anywhere near the Button.

Lee Otterholt, LAGUNA BEACH, CALIF.

WHY COULDN'T MCCAIN SIMPLY PROVIDE his definition of *honor*? He misjudged this opportunity by failing to realize that the answer was for those who have not read his books. Read your book, McCain? We've decided to read Obama's.

Jay Fenwick and Cindy Norris, BOONE, N.C.

IN YOUR RECENT ISSUE FEATURING BARACK Obama, he is portrayed as an all-around person fit for the job of being the next President of the United States. Your articles on McCain were anything but that. He does not get credit for anything that he has

accomplished. While I understand there is freedom of the press, there still needs to be freedom of choice.

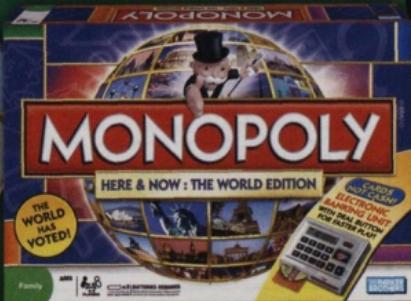
Rivky Levy, BROOKLYN, N.Y.

TIME'S COMPILATION ON SENATOR MCCAIN is brilliant and timely. It extols the honesty and integrity of McCain, and it all rings naturally true. Real courage comes from inborn convictions, not training. McCain certainly has the right stuff. Our country needs a President who has guts, not popularity.

Thayalan Cumarasamy, CHERRY HILL, N.J.

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newsmagazine in the deep freeze betrays a fundamental lack of self-control, not to mention candor. Do we really want to elect such a mercurial individual as our Commander in Chief?

Owen Prell, MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

Michael Phelps Rules!

I DISAGREE WITH MARK REESE'S COMMENTS IN Inbox regarding Michael Phelps [Sept. 8]. It may be true that Phelps had the advantages of technology in breaking Mark Spitz's speed records; however, Phelps—with his laser-sleek swimsuits and streamlined swimming caps—competed for his eight medals against other athletes with the exact same advantages. Phelps won those medals fair and square and should not have to justify his victories to those who think he should have done it the "old-fashioned way."

Janice Heidt, HOUSTON

In Defense of Wine's Terroir

IN "FIFTY STATES OF WINE," WE HAVE MORE underinformed pabulum [Sept. 8]. I am no snob, but I expect what's in the bottle to accurately reflect the wine's place of origin, traditions, agricultural history and, yes, *terroir*, which describes all of the preceding. Neither Joel Stein nor Fred Franzia

has enough understanding of the subject to speak of it intelligently and should not be relied on to teach curious readers.

David Moore, *Moore Brothers Wine Co.*
PENNSAUKEN, N.J.

Adversity and Character

RE MICHAEL KINSLEY'S ESSAY ON politicians and personal tragedy: Kinsley, you've got to get out more [Sept. 8]. It is human nature to take the easy path. Keeping a Down-syndrome baby or refusing preferential treatment in prisoner-of-war conditions is a measure of character. That's what it takes for me to choose a candidate, facing an uncertain world with insufficient data. Some can say what they'll do under pressure; others have demonstrated what they did under the intense heat of reality.

Troy Hammond, ASHBURN, VA.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ IN TIME'S Sept. 8 issue, we angered some proud Minnesotans by identifying the site of the Republican Convention as Minneapolis; it took place in the other Twin City, St. Paul.

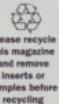
Tom Wolfe's Long, Strange Trip

DESPITE HIS CLAIM IN "10 QUESTIONS" that he never used LSD, Tom Wolfe told *Rolling Stone* magazine that, in fact, he had taken acid once during the writing of his book *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* [Sept. 8]. He said, "It scared the hell out of me." It seems Wolfe has inadvertently verified his assertion that the drug culture "inevitably leads to a total lack of intellect." Or maybe he just forgot.

Chase Martin, COLLEYVILLE, TEXAS

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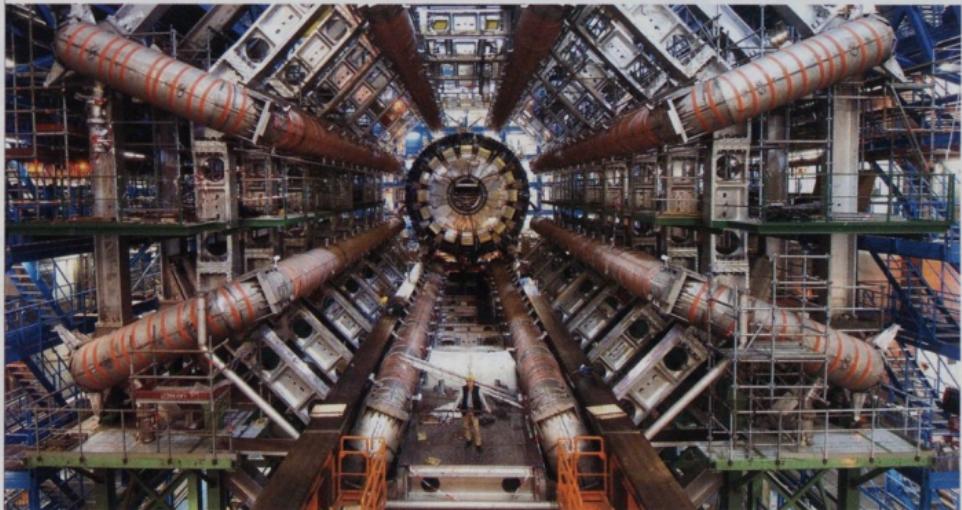
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Briefing

THE WORLD ■ VERBATIM ■ HISTORY ■ THE PAGE

■ POP CHART ■ MILESTONES



The Moment

9|10|08: Geneva

IF YOU'RE READING THIS, THE world didn't end last Wednesday morning—but then, no serious person thought it would. Two men with more of a cause than a clue, however, had sued to stop the Large Hadron Collider (LHC), a new particle accelerator near Geneva, from being switched on, arguing that it could lead to black holes or other scary things that could destroy the earth.

The weight of scientific evidence was overwhelmingly against the men, so the lawsuit didn't go ahead, and

at 4:30 a.m. E.T. that day, the start-up of the LHC did. A beam of protons was sent whirling around a ring-shaped tunnel some 300 ft. underground and nearly 17 miles around, making the circuit in approximately $\frac{1}{10,000}$ of a second.

The LHC represents the latest and easily most ambitious attempt to fathom such primal questions as how the universe began and what all matter—including us—is made of. When the device goes into collision mode later this fall, physicists will send two

beams of protons through the tunnel, in opposite directions, causing about 600 million head-on crashes every second, each of which will create a minuscule fireball that briefly reproduces conditions that haven't been seen since a

The Large Hadron Collider promises to broaden our world—not end it

millionth of a millionth of a second after the Big Bang. And out of those fireballs will emerge ... well, nobody knows for sure, or no one would have spent \$8 billion to build this contraption in the first place.

What physicists think

they'll see is a long-sought particle called the Higgs boson. Quantum physicists have never really explained why protons, neutrons and all the things made out of them have mass, and they believe the elusive Higgs is what gives it to them. "If we didn't find the Higgs," says Lisa Randall, a Harvard theorist, "it would be shocking."

Beyond that, the LHC could discover a whole new class of particles predicted by a theory called supersymmetry. It could even uncover the existence of extra dimensions of space beyond the three we're familiar with. What it won't do—let's be clear—is destroy the planet.

—BY MICHAEL D. LEMONICK ■

The World

10 ESSENTIAL STORIES



Kim Jong Il was conspicuously absent from 60th anniversary celebrations in Pyongyang

1 | North Korea

Dear Leader in Decline?

After Kim Jong Il failed to attend a parade marking the country's 60th anniversary, rumors began circulating that the secretive North Korean leader's health was deteriorating. State media have not reported a public appearance by Kim since Aug. 14, though Western intelligence officials say the 66-year-old dictator has manipulated such reports before. White House officials could not confirm the rumors but said they are monitoring the "opaque" nation amid stalled talks over its nuclear program. The Dear Leader assumed power in 1994 after the death of his father, North Korea's founder, Kim Il Sung; so far none of his three sons have emerged as the heir apparent. North Korea has dismissed the rumors, calling them a "conspiracy plot."

2 | London

Verdict for Liquid Bombers

Three of the eight men accused of plotting to blow up transatlantic commercial flights using liquid explosives hidden in plastic soft-drink bottles were found guilty of conspiracy to commit murder, but the jury failed to reach verdicts on four of the men (one was acquitted of all charges)—and even on whether the cell had actually targeted aircraft. Prosecutors said the suspects' early arrests made it difficult to collect enough evidence to convince the jury of an imminent threat. Meanwhile, restrictions on carrying liquids aboard planes—measures sparked by the 2006 plot—remain in place at many airports around the world.

3 | Baghdad

Petraeus Hands Over the Keys

General David Petraeus turns over control of U.S. troops in Iraq to his former deputy, Lieut. General Raymond Odierno, on Sept. 16. In July the Senate voted to promote Petraeus to head the military's Central Command, covering central Asia and the Middle East, including Afghanistan and Iraq. He assumes his new post this fall, filling the void left by Admiral William J. Fallon, who resigned in March over clashes with the Bush Administration.



Lieut. General Raymond Odierno

He helped Petraeus implement the 2007 surge and will become a full general before taking the reins in Iraq



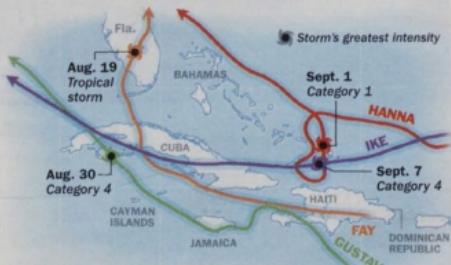
General David Petraeus

He'll try to repeat Iraq's drop in violence in Afghanistan, where the Taliban appears to be strengthening

4 | Toronto

Election, Again

Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper dissolved Parliament on Sept. 7 and called for an early election—the third national vote in four years. A ballot had been scheduled for 2009, but analysts said the new Oct. 14 date benefits Harper's Conservative Party by getting voters to the polls before they can be influenced by the outcome of U.S. elections or a continuing slump in the economy.



5 | Caribbean

FIERCE WEATHER Four storms in as many weeks have battered the Caribbean, spurring repeated mass evacuations and a climbing death toll. In Haiti, where areas of most of the nation's provinces are underwater, the storms have left an estimated 1,000 people dead and millions without food, water and shelter. In Cuba few deaths have been reported, but 2.6 million people—a quarter of the nation's population—sought refuge from Ike. Cuba's government has predicted damage in the billions of dollars.

Numbers:

59%

Percentage decrease in applications for U.S. citizenship since January, after Immigration Services raised the fee from \$400 to \$675

100

Number of aid vehicles hijacked in Darfur since January; 43 drivers are still missing



6 | Bolivia

TAKING TO THE STREETS Protesters took over public offices across the country amid escalating opposition to leftist President Evo Morales. The protesters want to stop Morales from rewriting the constitution and redistributing natural gas revenue from wealthy states to poorer indigenous communities. On Sept. 10, Morales ordered U.S. Ambassador Philip Goldberg to leave the country, accusing him of "conspiring against democracy."

7 | Iowa

More Trouble In Postville



The Department of Agriculture has cited Postville-based Agriprocessors Inc.—a kosher slaughterhouse targeted in a huge immigration raid in May—for improper slaughter, on the basis of video evidence (above) supplied by PETA. The Iowa attorney general has also charged the company with more than 9,000 child-labor-law violations, alleging it had hired children as young as 14. Agriprocessors denied the allegations.

8 | Afghanistan

Backlash on Civilian Deaths

U.S. and NATO air strikes killed 321 civilians in 2007, three times as many as in the previous year, Human Rights Watch reported, amid a dispute over civilian fatalities in an Aug. 22 attack. New video footage has prompted U.S. investigators to re-examine their initial conclusion that most of the strike's casualties were Taliban. One tribal elder offered to dig up victims' graves to prove their innocence.

Number of civilians killed by air strikes in Afghanistan

2006



2007



2008 (so far)



*Each icon represents two people

SOURCE: HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

\$1 BILLION

Amount lost by United Airlines shareholders after an article on the company's 2002 bankruptcy was mistakenly picked up as a breaking story. UAL stock dropped 75% in 11 minutes

9 | Bangkok

Recipe for An Ouster

After withstanding months of protests and calls for his resignation, Thai Prime Minister Samak Sundaravej was ultimately forced from office Sept. 9 on a technicality. According to a court ruling, Samak's gig as an occasional host of a TV cooking show violated a conflict-of-interest article in the Thai constitution that prohibits the Prime Minister from having a job outside of official duties. Yet just as soon as Samak was removed, his party declared its intention to renominate him, a move likely to perpetuate Thailand's political unrest. Samak's detractors allege he is merely a proxy for exiled former Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra, removed in a military coup in 2006.



*By Kaylene Johnson

10 | New York

Reading the Candidates

With the presidential race in the home-stretch, publishers are scrambling to meet demand for books by or about the contenders. Joe Biden's memoir was just reissued in paperback, and a second Sarah Palin bio is already in the works, with 100,000 copies coming out in October. While Barack Obama's two books are best sellers, John McCain fills more shelf space: since becoming a Senator, he's penned five hefty tomes with speechwriter Mark Salter.

★ | What They're Wearing in Japan:

Outgoing Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda failed to energize the country during his lackluster tenure, but he knows how to deliver a parting shot. "I'm not like you," Fukuda barked at a reporter who questioned whether he'd given his all in the post. The sharp comeback is now a pop-culture catchphrase; T-shirts adorned with the remark are the best-selling item among more than 900,000 designs at online retailer Club T.



21 MONTHS

Time that four protesters lived in a redwood tree in Berkeley, Calif., to stop developers from cutting it down, before surrendering on Sept. 9

Verbatim

'Pakistan and Afghanistan are like twins conjoined.'

HAMID KARZAI, President of Afghanistan, speaking at the inauguration of Pakistan's new President, Asif Ali Zardari, about the enduring troubles of the neighboring nations

'My name is the butt of a joke, the source of a laugh and the title of a scandal.'

JACK ABRAMOFF, former Republican lobbyist, before being sentenced to four years in prison for corruption and tax evasion

'I think our third child is this campaign.'

MICHELLE OBAMA, wife of Democratic presidential nominee Barack Obama, on the possibility of expanding their family

'That's a lot of money we can be using for wildlife conservation.'

RACHEL LEVIN, spokeswoman for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, on why the agency won't spend \$300,000 to fix a duck stamp that mistakenly lists a phone-sex number instead of a number to re-order stamps

'I want to tell you, Detroit, that you done set me up for a comeback.'

KWAME KILPATRICK, the city's former mayor, resigning after a sex-and-misconduct scandal

'Democracy is a process, not a destination.'

JÁRDÓ MUEKALIA, representative for Angola's Unita, a rebel movement turned opposition party, on the nation's first election in 16 years. Unita later lost by a landslide

'A combination of a pit-bull dog, a young Mike Tyson and an alligator.'

RICHARD WILLIAMS, father of Serena Williams, describing his daughter after she defeated Jelena Jankovic for the U.S. Open championship



Back & Forth:

Cuba

'End the ruthless and cruel economic, commercial and financial blockade imposed against our Motherland.'

Statement from the **CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTRY** rejecting \$100,000 in U.S. relief money in the wake of Hurricane Gustav and calling instead for an end to economic sanctions

'That is not acceptable in a western hemisphere that is democratic.'

Secretary of State **CONDOLEEZZA RICE**, stating that the U.S. would not recognize the dictatorial regime by lifting the embargo



The Governor

'Long before he was an actor or a governor, [he] wore little, tiny trunks and posed. He's a poser, and he should stop posing.'

LANCE CORCORAN, spokesman for the California Correctional Peace Officers Association, which launched a recall campaign against Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, saying he mismanaged the state budget

'The governor is not going to be intimidated into giving a pay raise.'

Schwarzenegger spokesman **ADAM MENDELSON**, saying voters recalled California's previous governor, Gray Davis, for yielding to the union's demands

Russia

'That is no way for a responsible power to conduct itself.'

Vice President **DICK CHENEY**, during a rare trip abroad, accusing Russia of selling weapons to Iran and using "brute force" against Georgia

'Russia is a state that from now on must be reckoned with.'

Russian President **DMITRY MEDVEDEV**, dismissing Cheney's criticism as futile



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10
YEAR
WARRANTY



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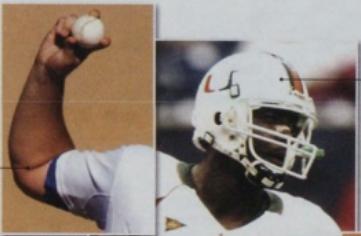
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A Brief History Of: Sports Medicine



AS NEW ENGLAND PATRIOTS fans will attest, the scariest letters in sports are ACL—as in an anterior cruciate ligament tear, probably the knee injury that ended quarterback Tom Brady's season on Sept. 7. But thanks to the marvels of modern sports medicine, the Pats' superstar should be dissecting defenses again in 2009. Ever since surgeon Frank Jobe revolutionized baseball in the 1970s with the pioneering elbow-repair technique now known as Tommy John surgery, doctors have been developing innovative ways to treat sports injuries. From managing concussions (some 300,000 annually in the U.S.; football players and female athletes are at higher risk) to 'scoping shoulders and knees, modern physicians can restore athletes' abilities, resuscitate their careers—and even save their lives. —BY ALEX ALTMAN

TOMMY JOHN SURGERY The L.A. pitcher got the first elbow-ligament replacement in 1974; today 83% of patients come back throwing heat



CONCUSSIONS Designed with better knowledge of how trauma occurs, high-tech mouth guards and headgear protect vulnerable noggin

SPINAL TRAUMA New "hypothermia therapy" may limit dangerous swelling; in 2007, it helped tight end Kevin Everett walk again after a life-threatening injury

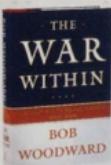


ARTHROSCOPIC SURGERY Developed in Japan, it fixes frayed joints with minimal invasion, enabling many athletes to begin rehab in days



RECONSTRUCTIVE KNEE SURGERY About 80,000 ACLs tear annually. Girls are up to eight times as likely to suffer the injury, which sidelined Tiger Woods in June

THE SKIMMER



The War Within

By Bob Woodward
Simon & Schuster; 487 pages

"The President rarely was the voice of realism on the Iraq War," writes Bob Woodward near the end of *The War*

Within, his fourth volume on George W. Bush. And after seven years of reporting on the President, Woodward may well have given us his culminating judgment. In his most measured behind-the-scenes look at the White House to date, Woodward stakes out a middle ground between 2002's hagiographic *Bush at War* and 2006's scalding *State of Denial*. While *Denial* seethes with a barely contained anger (mostly directed at Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld), *The War Within* closes its eyes and shakes its head slowly in resignation.

In 2006, it appeared as if there was no plan to succeed in

Iraq. Though sectarian violence had spiked and political progress stalled, Bush forged ahead confidently with a policy that amounted to little more than "We must win." As Woodward writes, "No matter how he tried to dress it up with positive language and sugarcoat it to the American public, he was losing the war. But somehow he had no set deadlines, demanded no hurry." Eventually, Bush ceded the responsibility for a new strategy to National Security Adviser Steve Hadley, who pushed ahead with the idea of a troop surge despite a desire by almost everyone inside and outside the Administration to start withdrawing troops. It was

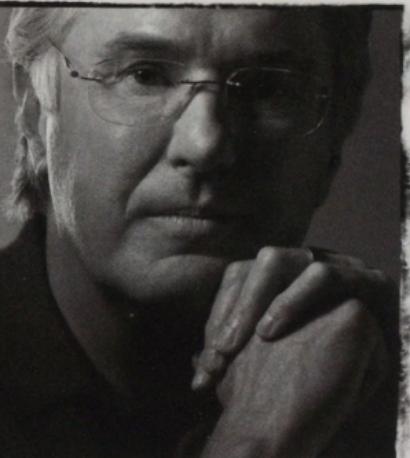
policy through brute force—but it succeeded in reducing the violence.

As usual, Woodward empties his notebooks, delivering the delicious quotes ("I'm a Socratic Method person," says Bush) and analysis (Woodward claims the reduction in violence owes as much to covert operations against extremists as to the surge) that we've come to expect—and frankly, demand—from his work. A better first draft of history might be difficult to find. —BY GILBERT CRUZ

READ
SKIM
TOSS

"Talk about a wake-up call. I had a heart attack at 57"

~John E.
Lafayette, CA
Heart attack: 8/16/2007



**"I should have been doing more for my high cholesterol.
I learned the hard way. Now I trust my heart to Lipitor.
Talk to your doctor about your risk and about Lipitor."**

- When diet and exercise are not enough, adding Lipitor may help. Unlike some other cholesterol lowering medications, Lipitor is FDA-approved to reduce the risk of heart attack and stroke in patients with several common risk factors, including family history, high blood pressure, low good cholesterol, age and smoking.
- Lipitor has been extensively studied with over 16 years of research. And Lipitor is backed by 400 ongoing or completed clinical studies.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION: LIPITOR is a prescription drug. It is used in patients with multiple risk factors for heart disease such as family history, high blood pressure, age, low HDL ('good' cholesterol) or smoking to reduce the risk of heart attack, stroke and certain kinds of heart surgeries. When diet and exercise alone are not enough, LIPITOR is used along with a low-fat diet and exercise to lower cholesterol.

LIPITOR is not for everyone. It is not for those with liver problems. And it is not for women who are nursing, pregnant or may become pregnant. If you take LIPITOR, tell your doctor if you feel any new muscle pain or weakness. This could be a sign of rare but serious muscle side effects. Tell your doctor about all medications you

take. This may help avoid serious drug interactions. Your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver function before and during treatment and may adjust your dose. The most common side effects are gas, constipation, stomach pain and heartburn. They tend to be mild and often go away.

When diet and exercise alone are not enough, adding LIPITOR can help. LIPITOR is one of many cholesterol-lowering treatment options that you and your doctor can consider.

Please see additional important information on next page.



Have a heart to heart with your doctor about your risk. And about Lipitor.
Call 1-888-LIPITOR (1-888-547-4867) or visit www.lipitor.com/john

*You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA.
Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or call 1-800-FDA-1088.*

IMPORTANT FACTS



LIPITOR
atorvastatin calcium
tablets

(LIP-ih-tore)

LOWERING YOUR HIGH CHOLESTEROL

High cholesterol is more than just a number, it's a risk factor that should not be ignored. If your doctor said you have high cholesterol, you may be at an increased risk for heart attack. But the good news is, you can take steps to lower your cholesterol.

With the help of your doctor and a cholesterol-lowering medicine like LIPITOR, along with diet and exercise, you could be on your way to lowering your cholesterol.

Ready to start eating right and exercising more? Talk to your doctor and visit the American Heart Association at www.americanheart.org.

WHO IS LIPITOR FOR?

Who can take LIPITOR:

- People who cannot lower their cholesterol enough with diet and exercise
- Adults and children over 10

Who should NOT take LIPITOR:

- Women who are pregnant, may be pregnant, or may become pregnant. LIPITOR may harm your unborn baby. If you become pregnant, stop LIPITOR and call your doctor right away.
- Women who are breast-feeding. LIPITOR can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby.
- People with liver problems
- People allergic to anything in LIPITOR

BEFORE YOU START LIPITOR

Tell your doctor:

- About all medications you take, including prescriptions, over-the-counter medications, vitamins, and herbal supplements
- If you have muscle aches or weakness
- If you drink more than 2 alcoholic drinks a day
- If you have diabetes or kidney problems
- If you have a thyroid problem

ABOUT LIPITOR

LIPITOR is a prescription medicine. Along with diet and exercise, it lowers "bad" cholesterol in your blood. It can also raise "good" cholesterol (HDL-C).

LIPITOR can lower the risk of heart attack or stroke in patients who have risk factors for heart disease such as:

- age, smoking, high blood pressure, low HDL-C, heart disease in the family, or
- diabetes with risk factor such as eye problems, kidney problems, smoking, or high blood pressure

POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF LIPITOR

Serious side effects in a small number of people:

- **Muscle problems** that can lead to kidney problems, including kidney failure. Your chance for muscle problems is higher if you take certain other medicines with LIPITOR.
- **Liver problems.** Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start LIPITOR and while you are taking it.

Symptoms of muscle or liver problems include:

- Unexplained muscle weakness or pain, especially if you have a fever or feel very tired
- Nausea, vomiting, or stomach pain
- Brown or dark-colored urine
- Feeling more tired than usual
- Your skin and the whites of your eyes turn yellow

If you have these symptoms, call your doctor right away.

The most common side effects of LIPITOR are:

• Headache	• Constipation
• Diarrhea, gas	• Upset stomach and stomach pain
• Rash	• Muscle and joint pain

Side effects are usually mild and may go away by themselves. Fewer than 3 people out of 100 stopped taking LIPITOR because of side effects.

HOW TO TAKE LIPITOR

Do:

- Take LIPITOR as prescribed by your doctor.
- Try to eat heart-healthy foods while you take LIPITOR.
- Take LIPITOR at any time of day, with or without food.
- If you miss a dose, take it as soon as you remember. But if it has been more than 12 hours since your missed dose, wait. Take the next dose at your regular time.

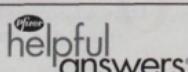
Don't:

- Do not change or stop your dose before talking to your doctor.
- Do not start new medicines before talking to your doctor.
- Do not give your LIPITOR to other people. It may harm them even if your problems are the same.
- Do not break the tablet.

NEED MORE INFORMATION?

- Ask your doctor or health care provider.
- Talk to your pharmacist.
- Go to www.lipitor.com or call 1-888-LIPITOR.

Uninsured? Need help paying for Pfizer medicines? Pfizer has programs that can help. Call 1-866-706-2400 or visit www.PfizerHelpfulAnswers.com.



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Printed in the USA.

Distributed by Parke-Davis, Division of Pfizer Inc.
New York, NY 10017 USA
LPIF Rev 2, Dec 2005

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Pop Chart



LANCE ARMSTRONG
to attempt eighth Tour de France title and fifth look-alike girlfriend



LONELYGIRL15 makes friends with MySpace, gets online show



TORI SPELLING tops David Sedaris with New York Times No. 1 best seller. Her family is weirder



O.J. SIMPSON trial, Version 2.0



PAN'S LABYRINTH director Guillermo del Toro booked with monster-movie projects through 2017



GHOSTBUSTERS 3 in the works. Who ya gonna call? **GUILLERMO DEL TORO!**



LINDSAY LOHAN turns down *Playboy* offer. Even she realizes we've seen enough



Bickering **CHRIS MATTHEWS** and **KEITH OLBERMANN** removed from MSNBC election-night anchor chairs

SHOCKING

Russia considers banning **SOUTH PARK**. Beats what it did to Georgia



MICKEY ROURKE wrestling film wins accolades at Venice Film Festival. Yes. *Mickey Rourke*



STEPHEN COLBERT'S DNA to be shot into space



STEVE JOBS: Not dead yet



ASHTON KUTCHER coaching Los Angeles high school football. Right back where Demi Moore found him



MADONNA dedicates *Like a Virgin* to Pope. **POPE** dedicates *You're Going to Hell (Remix)* to Madonna



RENT closes on Broadway despite abundance of *American Idol* castoffs



TOBEY MAGUIRE considering two more *Spider-Man* films, two more summerhouses

KATY PERRY disses **BRITNEY** at MTV Awards, still wants to kiss her



SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE

Milestones



Champs Haskins, second from left, and the '66 Texas Western team

Don Haskins

DON HASKINS, THE HALL of Fame college basketball coach who died Sept. 7 at age 78, wasn't unique. That's too broad a term. He was a pure gold original. There will never be another like Don.

"The Bear" won 719 games at the University of Texas—El Paso (UTEP), none more famous than the 1966 NCAA title game. Don was the first coach to start five black

players in the championship, and Texas Western, as UTEP was then known, upset an all-white Kentucky team.

There's a myth, perpetuated by the press and the 2006 Disney movie *Glory Road*, that it took exceptional courage for Don to start an all-black team. Not really. It took a guy who didn't care about



colors. He would have started five white kids or five Chinese kids if that gave him the best chance to win. Don's legacy is that he played the game the way he thought it should be played, without prejudice.

One time, my Indiana team played UTEP and—surprise—I got ejected after arguing with a referee. As I walked past Don, he looked straight ahead and said, "You put up with that crap a lot longer than I would have. See you after the game." That's Don—always a friend.

In my lifetime, there was no coach I respected more than Don. UTEP had no reason to be a national power. When Don arrived, West Texas wasn't really interested in basketball. Hell, they played in a rickety-ass gym. No coach in the history of college basketball did more with a given situation than

Don Haskins, and he did it for 38 years.

—BY BOB KNIGHT

Knight is the winningest coach in Division I basketball history



Robert Giroux

THERE MAY HAVE BEEN NO more unerring, more exquisitely sensitive instrument than the perfectly tuned

literary taste of Robert Giroux, who died Sept. 5 at age 94. The son of a New Jersey silk manufacturer, he became one of the great editors of the 20th century. Eternally alert to the possibility that any tattered, unheralded manuscript could be a masterpiece in embryo, he published the first books of Jack Kerouac, Bernard Malamud, William Gaddis, Susan Sontag and Flannery O'Connor. In his long career, he edited seven Nobel laureates: T.S. Eliot, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Isaac Bashevis Singer, William Golding, Nadine Gordimer, Derek Walcott and Seamus Heaney. Giroux visited Ezra Pound when he was incarcerated in a mental hospital; he

did the same for Robert Lowell. He once said his greatest professional regret was being unable to print J.D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*; he acquired it for his publisher, but another executive mixed it. (Not long after, he left to join the firm that would eventually bear his name, Farrar, Straus & Giroux.) Giroux had ambitions as a writer himself, somewhat fulfilled: he wrote a memoir and a book about Shakespeare's sonnets. But it was in the less public, less glorious role of editor that he made his contribution to literary history, playing handmaiden to genius and troubleshooting the delicate connection between author and muse. —BY LEV GROSSMAN

DIED The founder of a Tibetan-studies program at Indiana University and author of the autobiography *Tibet Is My Country*, **Taktsé Rinpoche** was a committed and lifelong advocate for his homeland. Yet Rinpoche, who was born Thubten Jigme Norbu, didn't always see eye to eye with his younger brother, the Dalai Lama. Though they remained close personally, politically Rinpoche supported absolute independence, while the Dalai Lama worked toward a compromise of "meaningful autonomy." Rinpoche was 86.

■ While animator **Bill Melendez** worked on a vast range of cartoons during his nearly 70-year career, it was bringing



Charles Schulz's *Peanuts* characters to life on TV and in film that brought him fame. He got his start in the late '30s with Walt Disney, working on *Bambi*, *Dumbo* and other projects before moving on to animate Warner Bros. characters like Bugs Bunny and Porky Pig. In 1959, Melendez was introduced to the world of Charlie Brown and Snoopy, and six years later, he animated the classic *A Charlie Brown Christmas*. For his impeccable work, Melendez earned four Emmy Awards and an Oscar nomination. He was 93.

■ She co-starred in *The Broadway Melody*, the first talkie to win an



Academy Award for Best Picture, yet actress **Anita Page** was known for her work in silent films. The New York City native was cast in many silent movies, notably alongside Joan Crawford in 1928's *Our Dancing Daughters*, though when her MGM contract ended in 1933, Page all but disappeared from film. She was 98.

ALASKA: THE SOLUTION TO AMERICA'S ENERGY CRISIS

Bald Eagle Energy Holds the Key to US Energy Independence



Data source:
Fortune, May 5, 2008

FOCUS: BALD EAGLE ENERGY INC. | NASDAQ OTC BB: BEEI

America is in a crisis: the price of oil has doubled in the past year; we're not producing nearly enough to meet our needs; and we're relying on favors from foreign countries that clearly do not have our best interests in mind.

Fortunately, emerging domestic oil and gas companies such as Texas based **Bald Eagle Energy Inc. (NASDAQ OTC BB: BEEI)** hold the key to restoring America to its rightful place as the land of the free and the home of the brave: increased exploration and production of those proven, secure energy resources right here at home in Alaska.

Alaska: Proven History & Rich Future

Since the 1960s, Alaska's North Slope – the state's highest producing area – has faithfully served America by providing secure, domestic oil. Even today, the area represents 20% of our nation's domestic oil production.

But Alaska's days of production are far from over. Alaska's Department of Natural Resources has pegged the North Slope's remaining resources at a massive 5.9 billion barrels of oil, while some estimates of untapped reserves for the entire state are up to 50 billion barrels. With numbers like these, it's easy to understand why the US government has

THE NEW ARCTIC OIL RUSH

Though largely unexplored, 80% of the Arctic's oil and 99% of its gas are already produced here.

Exxon and Chevron are among a wave of energy companies now exploring for oil and gas off Greenland's northeast coast.

Alaska's North Slope already produces 20% of America's domestic oil. Now large and smaller explorers are looking to increase that amount.

called for increased exploration in the Northern State. It's also easy to understand why industry giants such as Chevron, ConocoPhillips and BP are being joined by smaller players within the prolific North Slope.

Joining the New Black Gold Rush

Though still flying below Wall Street's radar, Bald Eagle Energy has welcomed the challenge of boosting domestic energy production – especially with oil prices at record highs. This newcomer has already secured interests in over 18,000 acres of prime North Slope land just south of North America's largest oil field, which has produced over 10 billion barrels of oil to date.

Best of all, a third party geological report in Q2 2008 concluded Bald Eagle's land could represent up to **90 million barrels of recoverable oil (~\$9.0 billion at \$100/barrel)**.

Now Bald Eagle appears poised to contribute to America's domestic energy solution while also representing a timely entry-level investment opportunity thanks to the combination of their high potential oil reserves in Alaska, surging oil prices, and a nation calling for energy independence.

ALASKA HIGHLIGHTS

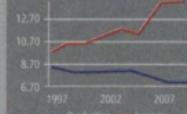
- Up to 50 billion barrels of conventional petroleum
- 10.25 trillion cubic feet of natural gas reserves
- Largest oil reservoir on the continent
- Expected lifespan of 50+ years

NORTH SLOPE HIGHLIGHTS

- Daily Production: 781,385 bbl/day¹
- Yearly Production: 264 million barrels of oil¹
- Reserves: 5.9 billion barrels of oil¹

¹ Alaska Department of Natural Resources
2007 Annual Report, July

US PRODUCTION VS. IMPORTS



Sources: IEA Statistical Review of World Energy,
June 2008

ALASKA: DOMESTIC SOLUTION TO AMERICA'S ENERGY CRISIS

In America's last energy frontier, Alaska, companies such as Chevron, ConocoPhillips, BP and Bald Eagle are working toward the nation's domestic energy solution.

■ Bald Eagle Lease Block

*Map not to scale.



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BALD EAGLE ENERGY



James

Poniewozik

Defeat the Press. Is it a loser's strategy for McCain and Palin to run against the media? Actually, it would be insanity not to

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION (RNC) heaped scorn not just on Barack Obama but also on his running mate, who apparently goes by the name Themedia Elite. And no wonder, because this Themedia Elite guy sounds like a tool. Incredibly sexist. Incredibly liberal. Laughs at regular folks. Windsurfs on a board made of arugula.

Well, John McCain's running mate, Sarah Palin, made it clear that she was not running to seek Themedia Elite's approval. Palin, who majored in journalism but has since seen the error of her ways, not only out-celebrityied Obama but also showed him how *real* celebrities handle the press.

Real celebrities don't make themselves available to every Tom, Dick and Katie. They play hard to get. And they have hard-nosed handlers, like McCain campaign manager Rick Davis, who vowed that Palin would not do interviews until the media "treat her with some level of respect and deference."

Soon after, Palin agreed to her first (and so far only) postnomination TV interview, with ABC's Charles Gibson, who had just blogged that controversies like Palin's husband's membership in a secessionist party and her daughter's pregnancy "are issues of family and should remain so." Deference accomplished!

Since McCain-Palin declared war on the media, some pundits have said running against the press is a loser's strategy. In fact, it would be malpractice not to. Even leaving aside the success of Nixon-Agnew vs. the "nattering nabobs of negativism" and

of Bush-Cheney vs. Dan Rather, the most important audience for media-bashing is not voters but the media themselves.

Journalists may not like to admit it, but cowing the media works. Not always, not with everyone, but—with a polarized audience, commercial pressures and constant self-doubt about fairness—it can succeed. It was after Hillary Clinton and *SNL* accused the media of coddling Obama that



coverage of him turned sharp. If you want to amplify your message, make it about the media because the press finds itself the most fascinating subject of all.

Take the manufactured Oprah-Palin controversy. Oprah Winfrey endorsed Obama in 2007 and said she would not have him or any other candidates on her show again until after the election. The *Drudge Report* ran a story that Oprah had "banned" Palin, although 1) Oprah had also de facto "banned" McCain, Joe Biden and Obama, and 2) it's uncertain that Palin even wanted to be interviewed by Obama's most famous backer. Nonetheless, it became a big story. Tom Brokaw asked whether Oprah's decision was "elitist," probably the first and last time the term will ever be applied to her show.

At msnbc, meanwhile, bias charges were the tipping point in a major shake-

up. Taking a page from Fox News, the cable network has cultivated opinionated, left-of-center hosts like Rachel Maddow, Chris Matthews and Keith Olbermann. This juiced msnbc's ratings, but it threatened the perceived neutrality of Brian Williams et al. and thus the larger NBC News sister brand. When delegates chanted "N.B.C! N.B.C!" during the media-bashing at the RNC—and not in the good "U.S.A.! U.S.A.!" way—it amounted to a massive negative ad on six networks. The following Monday, NBC announced that Matthews and Olbermann would no longer anchor election-night coverage.

Will critics of bias be satisfied? No.

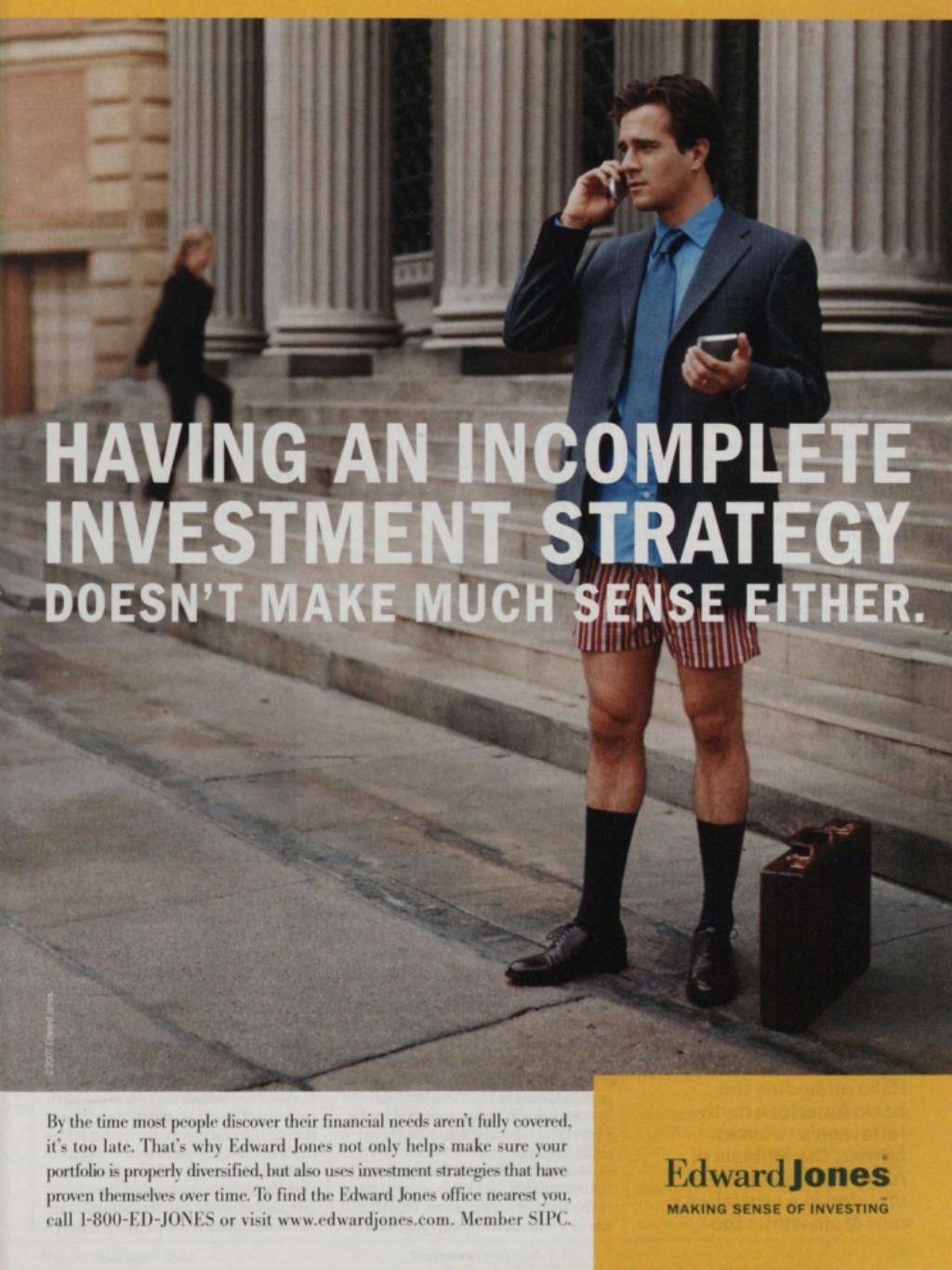
There's too much incentive to move the goalposts. Thus McCain surrogates took one case of gender bias—Palin's being asked if she could be both a VP and a mom—and extrapolated from it that questioning her experience must also be sexist. And they also blamed the media for a feeding frenzy over Bristol Palin's pregnancy, when in fact the story had emerged much like John Edwards' affair: mainstream media aired it after the principals volunteered it, pushed by rumors on blogs. It's easy to run against the media in the Internet age, when the media are everything from the Washington Post to the Daily Kos comments section. If you can roll them together and present some outlets to "balance" an offense they never committed, that's priceless.

To be fair, it's not only Republicans who run against the media. In the primary, Obama and his rivals all but boycotted Fox News, a blatant pander to members of their party's base who don't like Fox's conservative hosts. And Obama's partisans cried bias over an ABC debate during the primaries that focused heavily on Jeremiah Wright and was moderated by ... Gibson, who just got the nod from Palin.

Obama will have a hard time complaining about that now, though, having been established in the narrative as the media's darling, even as the press fixates on the new, fascinating celeb who keeps it at arm's length—waiting, wanting and wondering.

See, that's the other thing about this Themedia Elite. He's one fickle bastard. ■

Sarah Palin, who majored in journalism but has since seen the error of her ways, has shown Obama how real celebrities handle the press



HAVING AN INCOMPLETE INVESTMENT STRATEGY DOESN'T MAKE MUCH SENSE EITHER.

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Edward Jones
MAKING SENSE OF INVESTING



Joe

Klein

The American Myth. Sarah Palin appeals to nostalgia for a country that no longer exists. This year, it might be enough to win

SARAH PALIN HAS ARRIVED IN OUR midst with the force of a rocket-propelled grenade. She has boosted John McCain's candidacy and overwhelmed the presidential process in a way that no vice-presidential pick has since Thomas Eagleton did the precise opposite—sinking his sponsor, George McGovern, in 1972. Obviously, something beyond politics is happening here. We don't really know Palin as a politician yet, whether she is wise or foolhardy, substantive or empty. Our fascination with her—and it is a nonpartisan phenomenon—is driven by something more primal. The Palin surge illuminates the mythic power of the Republican Party's message since the advent of Ronald Reagan.

To start with the obvious, she's attractive. Her husband ("And two decades and five children later, he's still my guy ...") is a hunk. They have a gorgeous family, made more touching and credible by the challenges their children face. Her voice is more distinctive than her looks: that flat, northern twang that screams, I'm just like you! Actually, the real message is: I'm just like you want to be, a brilliantly spectacular ... average American. The Palins win elections and snowmobile races in a state that represents the last, lingering hint of that most basic Huckleberry Finn fantasy—lighting out for the territories. She quoted Westbrook Pegler, the F.D.R.-era conservative columnist, in her acceptance speech: "We grow good people in our small towns ..." And then added, "I grew up with those

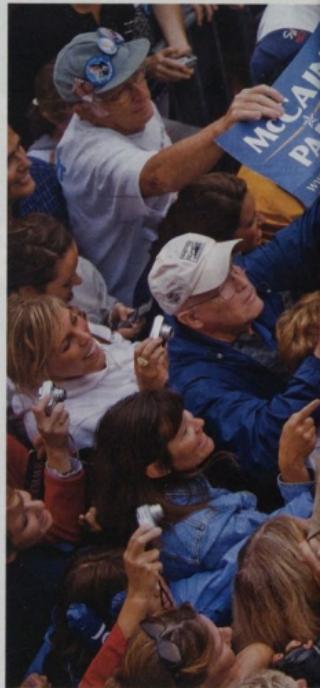
people. They're the ones who do some of the hardest work in America, who grow our food and run our factories and fight our wars. They love their country in good times and bad, and they're always proud of America."

Except that's not really true. We haven't been a nation of small towns for nearly a century. It is the suburbanites and city dwellers who do the fighting and hourly-wage work now, and the corporations who grow our food. But Palin's embrace of small-town values is where her hold on the national imagination begins. She embodies the most basic American myth—Jefferson's yeoman farmer, the fantasía of rural righteousness—updated in a crucial way: now Mom works too. Palin's story stands with one foot squarely in the nostalgia for small-town America and the other in the new middle-class reality. She brings home the bacon, raises the kids—with a significant assist from Mr. Mom—hunts moose and looks great in the process. I can't imagine a more powerful, or current, American Dream.

Nearly 50 years ago, in *The Burden of Southern History*, the historian C. Vann Woodward argued that the South was profoundly different from the rest of America because it was the only part of the country that had lost a war: "Southern history, unlike American ... includes not only an overwhelming military defeat but long decades of defeat in the provinces of economic, social and political life." Woodward believed that this heritage led Southerners to be more obsessed with the past than other Americans were—at its worst, in popular works like *Gone With the Wind*, there was a gagging nostalgia for a courtly antebellum South that never really existed.

During the past 50 years, the rest of the country has caught up to the South in the nostalgia department. We lost a war in Vietnam; Iraq hasn't gone so well

Palin embodies the basic American myth—Jefferson's yeoman farmer, the fantasía of rural righteousness—updated in a crucial way: now Mom works too



either. And there are two other developments that have cut into the sense of American perfection. The middle class has begun to lose altitude—there isn't the certainty anymore that our children will live better than we do. More important, the patina of cultural homogeneity that camouflaged 1950s suburbia has vanished. We have become more obviously multiracial. There are lifestyle choices that were nearly unimaginable in 1960—the widespread use of the birth control pill, the legalization of abortion, the feminist and gay-rights revolutions, the breakdown of the two-parent family. With the advent of television, these changes became inescapable. They intruded upon the most traditional families in the smallest towns. The political

Selling the message
The Republican vice-presidential nominee reaches out to supporters at a Sept. 9 campaign rally in Lebanon, Ohio



impact was a conservative reaction of enormous vehemence.

Enter Reagan. His vision of the future was the past. He offered the temporal pleasures of tax cuts and an unambiguous anticommunism, but his real tug was on the heartstrings—it was “Morning in America.” The Republican Party of Wall Street faded before the power of nostalgia for Main Street...at least a Main Street that existed before America began losing wars, became ostentatiously sexy and casually interracial. In his presidential debate with Jimmy Carter, Reagan talked about an America that existed “when I was young and when this country didn’t even know it had a racial problem.” The blinding whiteness and fervent religiosity of the party he created are an endur-

ing testament to the power of the myth of an America that existed before we had all these problems. The power of Sarah Palin is that she is the latest, freshest iteration of that myth.

The Republican Party’s subliminal message seems stronger than ever this year because of the nature of the Democratic nominee for President. Barack Obama could not exist in the small-town America that Reagan fantasized. He’s the product of what used to be called miscegenation, a scenario that may still be more terrifying than a teen daughter’s pregnancy in many American households. Furthermore, he has thrived in the culture and economy that displaced Main Street America—an

economy where people no longer work in factories or make things with their hands, but where lawyers and traders prosper unduly. (Of course, this is the economy the Republican Party has promoted—but facts are powerless in the face of a potent mythology.) Obama is the precise opposite of Mountain Man Todd Palin: an entirely urban creature. He lives within the hilarious conundrum of being both too “cosmopolitan” and intellectual for Republican tastes—at least as Rudy Giuliani described it—while also being the sort of fellow suspected of getting ahead by affirmative action.

The Democrats have no myth to counter this powerful Republican fantasy. They had to spend their convention on the biographical defensive: Barack Obama really is “one of us,” speaker after speaker insisted. Really. Democrats do have the facts in their favor. Polls show that Americans agree with them on the issues. The Bush Administration has been a disaster on many fronts. The McCain campaign has provided only the sketchiest policy proposals; it has spent most of its time trying to divert the national conversation away from matters of substance.

But Americans like stories more than issues. Policy proposals are useful in the theater of presidential politics only inasmuch as they illuminate character: far more people are aware of the fact that Palin put the state jet on eBay than know that she imposed a windfall-profits tax on oil companies as governor and was a porkaholic as mayor of Wasilla.

So Obama faces an uphill struggle between now and Nov. 4. He has no personal anecdotes to match Palin’s mooseburgers. His story of a boy whose father came from Kenya and mother from Kansas takes place in an America not yet mythologized, a country that is struggling to be born—a multiracial country whose greatest cultural and economic strength is its diversity. It is the country where our children already live and that our parents will never really know, a country with a much greater potential for justice and creativity—and perhaps even prosperity—than the sepia-tinted version of Main Street America. But that vision is not sellable right now to a critical mass of Americans. They live in a place, not unlike C. Vann Woodward’s South, where myths are more potent than the hope of getting past the dour realities they face each day.

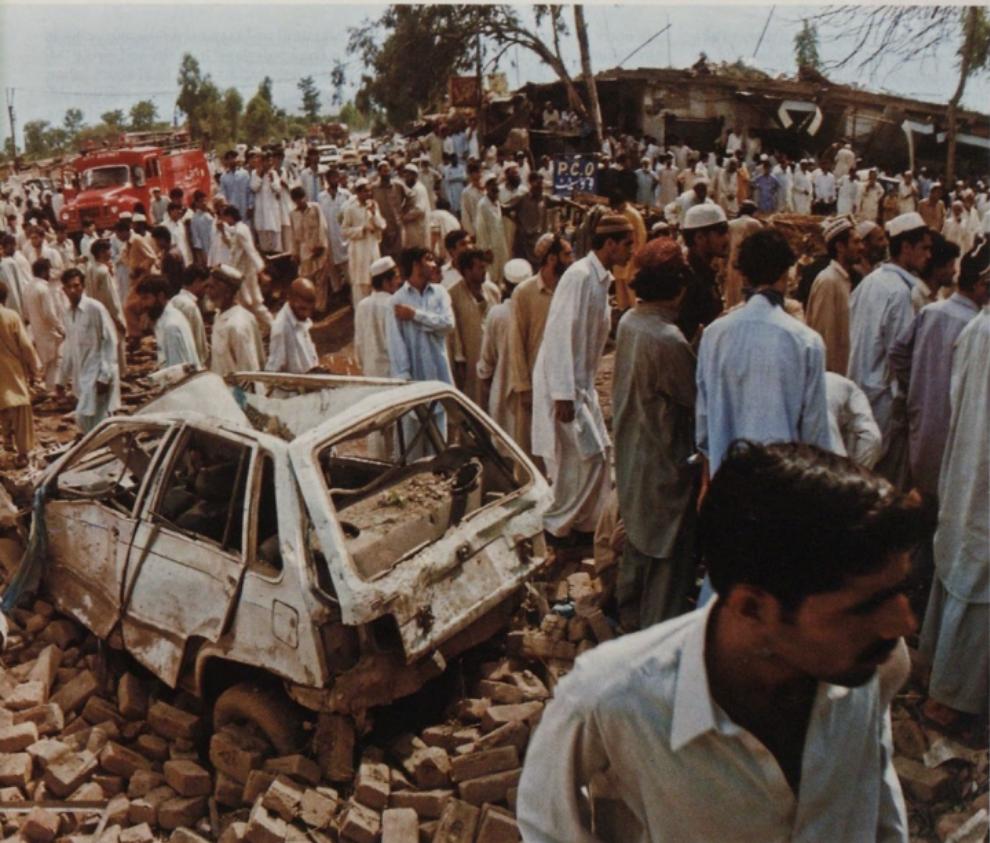


The Central Front

Pakistan is now the focus of the long war on terrorism. Its new President has a murky past and few democratic credentials. How can this dangerous place be made safe?

BY ARYN BAKER/ISLAMABAD

Asif Ali Zardari



Pakistan is in crisis.

Islamic extremism has metastasized from the lawless tribal areas on the border with Afghanistan to Pakistan's cities. Terrorists tried, and failed, to assassinate the Prime Minister in the capital, Islamabad, on Sept. 3. The nation's economy is a shambles. And Asif Ali Zardari, the man who has just taken the helm of this nuclear-armed country, is a onetime playboy who has spent more time in prison than in government and who wriggled out of a 2006 corruption trial in Britain by pleading mental instability.

The assassination last December of Benazir Bhutto, a former Prime Minister who was likely to win parliamentary elections in February, capped a year of devastating bloodshed. Some 3,600 people died in terrorism-related violence in 2007, according to the organization South Asia Terrorism Portal, and this year will be worse, as militant groups have joined together to wage war on the central government. The

Suicide attack On Sept. 6, a pickup truck exploded at a checkpoint, killing 35

February elections brought Bhutto's Pakistani People's Party, headed by her widower, Zardari, to power and a brief hiatus in the violence. But the new governing coalition collapsed over petty power struggles, and the militancy resumed. Twenty-nine suicide bombings have claimed more than 400 lives so far this year.

Yet though Pakistan has been a victim of terrorism, it has also been its enabler. As the focus of the U.S.'s war on terrorism has moved from Afghanistan to Iraq and back again, there is a widely dawning realization that its central front is actually Pakistan. Here in the mountainous northwestern fringes of the nation, where a fierce tribal code values honor and the protection of guests, that Osama bin Laden and his key lieutenants are thought to be hiding. From these tribal areas, al-Qaeda and remnants of the Afghan Taliban, protected by their Pakistani friends, have launched attacks into Afghanistan, dragging the U.S. and its allies into a shadow war on some of the least hospitable terrain on earth. On Sept. 3, U.S.-led

helicopter and ground troops made a raid into Pakistan from across the border. At least 17 Pakistanis were killed, and so far there has been no concrete explanation of what happened and why. U.S. forces have previously fired from Afghanistan in pursuit of militants crossing the border, and Predator drones have launched Hellfire missiles on suspected al-Qaeda targets within Pakistani borders (as they did again on Sept. 8), but this was the first reported ground incursion. The raid inflamed anti-American sentiment across the nation, and in retaliation, a vital fuel-supply route to U.S. and NATO forces in Afghanistan was temporarily blocked.

Pakistan, a country of 173 million people that encompasses dusty plains, sublime mountain peaks and some of the world's most densely populated cities, has rarely been a placid place since it became an independent nation in 1947. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Islamabad, with U.S. and Saudi funding, sent thousands of men across the border to join Afghans in fighting the Soviets. The

Pakistani military used religious schools in the borderland to train and equip Afghan mujahedin and to heal them when they returned. More than 3 million Afghan refugees took shelter in Pakistan's cities and in makeshift camps. But after the Soviets withdrew in 1989, the U.S. lost interest in the region. Afghanistan's war of liberation turned into a civil war, and the Pakistani government—led by Bhutto and her political rival Nawaz Sharif, who alternated in power—backed the Taliban, student warriors committed to a fundamentalist Islamic state.

When it ran Afghanistan, the Taliban provided a safe haven for al-Qaeda—which had its origins among those who had gone to the region to fight Soviet forces. Pakistani government support for the Taliban officially ended after 9/11, when Pervez Musharraf, an army general who had seized power in a 1999 coup, pledged to assist the U.S. war on terrorism. But not everyone was on board. Some in Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence spy agency (isi) played a double



The next new hope In Rawalpindi, Pakistanis watch as the widower of Benazir Bhutto is sworn in as their President

game, turning a blind eye when members of the Taliban leadership and al-Qaeda escaped to Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) along the border with Afghanistan. FATA's ungoverned spaces provided the ideal sanctuary for militant groups on the run. Musharraf made a halfhearted attempt, at Washington's behest, to stop the Afghan Taliban and al-Qaeda from waging insurgency across the border. But that only inflamed tensions; the Afghan militants turned their rage on his government, winning to their cause local Pakistanis with whom they have close ties. (The Pashtun ethnic group straddles the border.)

All this has combined to make the governability of Pakistan and the character of its latest leader matters of intense concern far from the mountains of the Hindu Kush. Al-Qaeda has "hundreds of training camps" scattered throughout the region, says a Western official in Pakistan. CIA director Michael Hayden has called FATA an al-Qaeda "safe haven" that presents a "clear and present danger to Afghanistan,

'[FATA is a] clear and present danger to Afghanistan, to Pakistan and to the West ... and to the U.S. in particular.'

—MICHAEL HAYDEN, DIRECTOR OF THE CIA

to Pakistan and to the West in general, and to the United States in particular." So the question becomes: How dangerous is Pakistan now—and does Zardari have what it takes to make it safer?

Playboy to President

ZARDARI'S RISE TO PAKISTAN'S PRESIDENCY reads like a Cinderella tale turned Mafia thriller. The son of a feudal landlord and cinema-house owner, Zardari married Bhutto, Pakistan's political princess, in 1987, when she was about to launch her political career. In time, Zardari became Bhutto's political partner, taking posts in her Cabinet and smoothing the ruffled egos of the sometimes haughty Prime Minister left in her wake. "He was the fence mender," says Aftab Khan Sherpao, a veteran politician. "If someone [in parliament] had grievances, she sent Zardari in. He was the back channel. He knew how to build relationships."

Zardari always had a reputation for wheeling and dealing. When he was Investment Minister during Bhutto's sec-



Collateral damage Air strikes against militants in the tribal areas caused 260,000 to flee; many ended up in shelters like this one near Peshawar

ond term, his alleged involvement in kickback scandals earned him the sobriquet "Mr. 10%." He spent 11 years in prison on charges of corruption, extortion and the murder of Bhutto's brother (a political rival), although he has never been convicted. In April he was finally acquitted of the murder charge. Pakistani governments led by both Bhutto's rival, Sharif, and Musharraf pursued money-laundering and corruption cases against Zardari in Britain, Spain and Switzerland. All charges were dropped last fall after a controversial amnesty deal brokered by Musharraf. Zardari maintains that the charges were politically motivated. Yet unease over his credibility lingers. A text-message joke making the rounds in Pakistan says there is no fear that as President, he will be on the take: "He has already stolen everything."

Zardari not only has to overcome suspicions about his past but also will have to unify his fractured nation at a time of great trauma. Other than party loyalists, few believe he can. "The jury is out on redemption," says political analyst Nasim Zahra. "But I don't think Zardari can stand up and rally the people behind him." Zardari has to balance U.S. demands for firm military action against the distrust of a public alienated by American adventures in the region. In a country where most blame the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan for Pakistan's problems, he will have to convince Pakistanis that the war on terrorism is their war too.

That will not be easy. Zardari became President without ever having to face a popular vote (the President is chosen by parliament, which is currently dominated by his party), and he assumes an office bloated with powers bequeathed by his dictatorial predecessor. The constitution, as amended by Musharraf, grants Zardari immunity from prosecution and enables him to choose—and dismiss—the Chief of Army Staff, personally select Supreme Court judges and dissolve parliament. Under Pakistan's original constitution, these powers belonged to the elected members of parliament; the President was supposed to be a neutral national leader. With few democratic credentials, Zardari, like Musharraf, has absolute power with no mandate. He has said that "parliament is sovereign, and the President would be subservient to the house of the people's representatives," but the relief that announcement brought will count for little if he gets tagged as Washington's man, particularly if he retains powers that many



believe are unconstitutional. "Musharraf was seen as America's puppet, and now with Zardari, people think it's the same continuation of policies," says Sherpao. "It would be better for him, and for America, if he just stands in the background and gives advice to the Prime Minister."

In the process of consolidating power, Zardari burned bridges, including a valuable alliance with Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League-N, that promised, for once, a functioning national government unhindered by destabilizing rivalries. Zardari's reversal of a promise to reinstate judges dismissed by Musharraf last fall left Sharif's party to drop out of the coalition government, taking with it the highly regarded Finance Minister, Ishaq Dar. The economy, already burdened by skyrocketing food and oil prices, collapsed, and there was a run on the stock market, which had been one of the best performing in Asia.

The rift over the judges may be only a precursor. Many fear that Zardari's and Sharif's parties will revert to the vicious infighting that plagued Pakistan in the late 1980s and '90s. That was bad enough, but Pakistan has nuclear weapons now,

and al-Qaeda is still picnicking in its backyard. The military, headed by General Ashfaq Kayani, has promised to stay out of politics, but if the situation deteriorates, it may be forced to intervene. "I don't think [Kayani] will let the country come apart," says Anthony Zinni, a retired four-star Marine general who from 1997 to 2000 headed the U.S. Central Command. "He and the army are watching the Sharif-Zardari business with a lot of worry."

Careful What You Wish For

PAKISTAN'S TROUBLES MAY NOT be solvable by the men in uniform.

"With the insurgency in the tribal areas, the situation has become much more complex," says career diplomat Humayun Khan. "The military may try to step in, but it may not succeed." Pakistan today, he says, "has all the ingredients of a revolution: poverty, injustice, instability, alienation, religious fervor and an incompetent government. If the parties don't work together to solve these problems, there is a real danger that the government fails completely."

Though Pakistan has lost several thousand soldiers in the war against the Islamic insurgency, many U.S. lawmakers believe it is not doing enough. Western military leaders in Afghanistan have accused the ISI of actively supporting the terrorist groups that are behind attacks on foreign forces and civilian targets, such as a suicide blast at the Indian embassy in Kabul that killed 54. Zardari will have to rein in the ISI and work with the Americans to minimize collateral damage from attacks on militants inside Pakistan. Most difficult of all, he will have to convince his populace that such attacks benefit Pakistan as much as the U.S.

Whatever the military challenges, the U.S. Administration has continued its quiet cultivation of Kayani, who has acted more aggressively against insurgents in recent months, with full-scale aerial assaults. On Aug. 6 he launched a massive operation in Bajaur tribal agency, an insurgent-ridden area along the border. But the exercise was a lesson in being careful what you wish for. Pakistan's army was built to fight a conventional war with India and is ill equipped to handle violence at home. Three weeks of air strikes forced more than 260,000 residents to flee the region; many ended up in squalid camps. They have turned their wrath on the government, not on the militants who are fighting it. "We are sandwiched between security forces and the Taliban," says Fazl Sadiq, 30, who is staying in a camp.

[Pakistan today] has all the ingredients of a revolution: poverty, injustice, instability ... religious fervor and an incompetent government.'

—HUMAYUN KHAN, DIPLOMAT

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Not their man Supporters of politician and former cricket star Imran Khan demonstrate in Islamabad against the new President, Zardari

He claims that the air strikes have killed more civilians than militants. "If the government does not halt its indiscriminate killing, then one day I will also join the Taliban to take revenge."

Will anything work? "The military has pursued two bad policies in the tribal areas—appeasement and excessive use of force," says Samina Ahmed, South Asia project director for the International Crisis Group. "Either way, all they have achieved is empowering the militants, helping them in recruitment and in obtaining funding." She laments the lack of a coherent strategy. "Militaries are blunt instruments; they are not good at counterinsurgency," she says. "The police would be a far more effective instrument, but there is no coordination between the military and the civilian government, so political reform and economic development—essential elements to any counterinsurgency—are not part of the equation."

A long-term effort to quell extremism in the tribal areas will require even more. Pakistan needs to bring schools, jobs, roads, health care, courts and the rule

of law to a populace that has rarely seen government attention. Unemployment among the population of 3.5 million hovers around 70%. Two-thirds live in poverty. Only 6% of its people can read, and for women, the figure is less than 1%. Yet neither Pakistan nor the U.S. appears to have a comprehensive strategy for the area. A top expert on Pakistan recently visited a colleague at the White House who, the expert says, was embarrassed to admit that "no matter who wins the election, I don't have a U.S. policy toward Pakistan to give them."

A proposal by Senators Joe Biden, the Democrats' vice-presidential candidate, and Republican Richard Lugar could signal a new start. Their bill calls for a tripling of nonmilitary aid to Pakistan over five years and ties security aid to improved results in dealing with terrorists. Such an approach—which the Senators have called a "genuine sea change"—has widespread support. Randy Scheunemann, the top foreign policy adviser of Republican presidential candidate John McCain, says achieving U.S. objectives in Pakistan will require development as well as military aid. In July, in an interview with NBC, Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama said not enough U.S. assistance to Pakistan has taken the form of "building schools and building infrastructure in the country."

Sounds great. But who will get the development money that all of Washington now seems keen to send east? Christine Fair, a Pakistan expert with the Rand Corp. in Washington, argues that without a re-

former in charge in Islamabad, programs such as Biden-Lugar will be "throwing good money after bad." The problems, she says, are systemic. Improving training for police officers won't help until their wages are boosted to make them less vulnerable to bribes—but that would require reforming police pay, which in turn would call for extensive civil-service reform. "That's the problem with Pakistan," says Fair. "It's like a string in a carpet that you pull, and pretty soon you find yourself unraveling the whole carpet."

The key insight is that no one policy—and no one leader—can save Pakistan. For too long, even as he became increasingly loathed at home, the U.S. relied on Musharraf to deliver its security goals. It can't make the same mistake with Zardari. Now is the time to identify other partners and focus on Pakistan's real needs—not just security but also economic development, education and health care—as its politicians and people seek a way out of the mossa into which their nation has sunk.

All that, and patience. Next year marks the 30th anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which had the unwitting effect of yoking Pakistan's fortunes to those of the U.S. Do not be surprised if—even with skillful diplomacy, generous aid and appropriate military assistance—it takes another generation for that strange partnership to become one from which both partners believe they benefit.—WITH REPORTING BY MARK THOMPSON AND MASSIMO CALABRESI/WASHINGTON AND ERSHAD MAHMUD/NOWSHERA, PAKISTAN

[Pakistan is] like a string in a carpet that you pull, and pretty soon you find yourself unraveling the whole carpet.'

—CHRISTINE FAIR, PAKISTAN EXPERT AT THE RAND CORP.



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SHIFT expectations

The Sarah Show



A front-row view of Sarah Palin's campaign debut reveals why her grip on women voters is likely to last

BY MICHAEL SCHERER/LEBANON

THE CAMPAIGN'S CROWDS, ONCE elderly and male, now surge with moms toting children. Grandmothers tell of getting goose bumps when she speaks. A young girl holds up a sign that reads **SARAH PALIN UP MY ROLE MODEL**. At rally after rally, John McCain must wait to go onstage, while she is still being mobbed at the rope line. In Lee's Summit, Mo., when he attacks Barack Obama as being "wrong for America," the crowd ignores him and chants her name instead. The line to enter a Lancaster, Pa., event winds half a mile through a parking lot, where thousands wait as long as 90 minutes to get a glimpse of her. After driving almost an hour to attend her first political rally ever, Suzanne Cook of Coatesville, Pa., offers an explanation: "The fact that she's a woman."

Sarah Palin has done for the GOP what no male candidates, nearly two years and \$300 million had failed to accomplish: she has boosted excitement, crowds and campaign coffers virtually overnight. She has lifted McCain in the polls, has put Obama into confusion and is living out a Cinderella story unlike any other in recent political history, though the ending is still a slipper of uncertainty. Even Palin seems astonished by it all. Gazing out at thousands from a platform in Sterling Heights, Mich., she shakes her head, dumbfounded for a moment as the crowd chants her name. Her mouth forms a word, mumbled silently to herself: "Wow," she says.

The Palin effect is already measurable. Since McCain tapped her in the days before the St. Paul, Minn., convention, national

polls show that McCain has drawn even with Obama in most head-to-head surveys and pulled ahead in several. At the same time, white women have swung away from Obama by as much as 20 points. For months, McCain badly trailed in this group—a warning sign, since George W. Bush won among white women in 2004. But a new CNN/TIME/Opinion Research poll reveals McCain has opened up double-digit leads among this group in the swing states of Virginia, Missouri and Michigan. Charollet Schworer, a retired third-grade teacher from Kentucky who voted twice for Bill Clinton, traveled to Lebanon, Ohio, in a Windbreaker patterned with the American flag. "I sat there, tears rolling down my face, watching my TV," she says of Palin's speech at the Republican Convention. "I felt energized, truly energized for the first time."

While Obama's campaign seemed bewitched and bewildered about how to cope with Palin's appeal and McCain's resurgence, Republicans barely had time to gloat. Volunteers at GOP offices have increased fivefold in several swing states. In the first 12 hours after Palin was selected, \$4.4 million in donations poured in, contributing to a \$10 million infusion over a holiday weekend that ended with Hurricane Gustav. "We had to bring in a few new servers," says a McCain adviser. (Palin's been good for the Democrats, too: the Obama campaign claimed \$10 million in donations within 24 hours after her speech at the convention.)

Palin still has plenty of questions to answer, and while she has basked in mostly adoring reviews from the conservative



Palin power
More than 1,000 women turned up in Lebanon, Ohio, to see the Veep nominee—and her running mate

base, she is also struggling to deflect the scrutiny of her record in office. Though it insists she is up to the job of Vice President, the campaign denied all news interview requests for nearly two weeks after she joined the ticket. She regards reporters warily and from a distance, except for a brief meet and greet on her campaign plane that was strictly off the record. Onstage, she tells the same teleprompter jokes every day, and her husband Todd laughs at them as if he had never heard them before. Beforehand and afterward, Palin lunges into the crowds, shaking hands in her 3-in. heels. "I'm excited, but I'd like to see her interviewed first," says Republican Kim Ahaus, a middle-aged woman from Lebanon, Ohio, who has not yet been sold on the fairy tale.

The McCain operation, which knows a thing or two about biography, is betting for now that the details of her views matter less than the grit of her story. What-



ever its relevance to working in the White House, there is an undeniable power in the tale of a woman who knows how to carve up a moose and can give a speech while leaking amniotic fluid, just hours before giving birth to a fifth child. Still, her first week on the stump clarified some things: She never banned library books, though she raised the possibility in a conversation with a librarian. She never joined a political party that openly discussed Alaska's secession from the U.S., though she did address its members. On the other hand, the government plane she says she "put on eBay" was never actually sold there. She once supported the prizewinning piece of pork known as the "bridge to nowhere" that she claims to have opposed. And though it was legal under Alaskan law, some found it unseemly that she claimed thousands of dollars in per diem expenses as governor while living at home.

The McCain campaign, meanwhile, has been doing its best to create storms elsewhere, with a series of harshly negative and factually challenged ads, one accusing Obama of making a sexist slight, another accusing him of wanting to give sex education to kindergartners. Though the new attacks are misleading, they have allowed Palin to continue to play booster on McCain's rocket. McCain aides abandoned their plans to send her out on the trail by herself and have instead installed her as his more popular warm-up act. McCain himself certainly seems revitalized, following Palin at each stop with a fiery stump speech

filled with barbs aimed at Obama, though cable news networks sometimes cut to commercials after Palin is finished. On the bus, away from reporters, the tone is friendly, informal and light—McCain quizzing Todd and Sarah about caribou and snowmobile racing while Brett Favre debuts with the Jets on the television. McCain is having fun, says traveling aide Steve Duprey: "Riding on the bus with her is like riding on the bus with the press a year ago."

Despite their camaraderie, they will soon be forced apart. After filling the hall in Lancaster, McCain went outside, climbed onto a platform and addressed the hundreds of supporters who never made it inside. "I'm grateful that you are here," he said into a microphone. "I'm not going to let you down." But as he stepped down to work the rope line, the chants—"Sa-rah! Sa-rah! Sa-rah!"—had already started up again, even though she was nowhere in sight. ■



Travels with Sarah

To see photos of the GOP Veep nominees on the campaign trail, go to time.com/sarah

Bailout Nation

Fearing turmoil in housing and the stock market, the government seizes mortgage lenders Fannie and Freddie. What it means for you—and the U.S.

BY JUSTIN FOX

IN WHAT IS GETTING TO BE SOMETHING of a habit, Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson ruined his own and a lot of other people's weekend by choosing the morning of Sunday, Sept. 7, to announce the seizure of money-losing mortgage giants Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

Fannie and Freddie are—childish names and all—by far the biggest financial institutions ever taken over by the U.S. government. Their bailout amounts to a stunning return to government control over the U.S. financial system, incongruously led by a former Wall Street boss (Paulson) working in what is purportedly a conservative Republican Administration.

It's also yet another episode in a now year-old financial crisis that shows no signs of abating. Paulson's announcement briefly rallied stock markets around the world. But jittery investors kept running for the exits at Seattle-based thrift Washington Mutual and the investment bank Lehman Bros.—although Lehman's earnings announcement on Sept. 10 sent the stock up slightly, despite the revelation of a \$3.9 billion quarterly loss.

Americans not versed in financial-market arcana can be forgiven for scratching

their heads at all this and wondering what the heck is happening and what it means for them. Here are a few answers.

1 What are Fannie and Freddie again?

FANNIE MAE AND FREDDIE MAC—LET'S call them Frannie for short—are mortgage lenders. They don't make loans directly but buy them from banks, thrifts and mortgage companies that do. They hold on to some loans but repackage most of them as mortgage-backed securities (MBSs) and sell them to investors, thus sustaining the flow of money into the real estate market.

Fannie Mae began life in 1938 as the Federal National Mortgage Association, a New Deal government agency, and was privatized in 1968 to get its debts off the government's books. Two years later, Congress created Freddie Mac, the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp., in part to give Fannie some competition. The firms became odd hybrids—government-sponsored enterprises (GSEs) accountable to private shareholders. And they got away with holding only tiny capital reserves to insure against losses in their giant portfolios—partly because of their quasi-governmental status and partly because mortgages were supposed to be safe.

But the worst housing slump since the Great Depression—prices are down 18% since mid-2006, according to the S&P/CASE-Shiller national index—has made once safe mortgages look perilous and Frannie's capital cushion look alarmingly skimpy. In July, in another of his Sunday bombshells, Paulson asked Congress for the authority to do (and spend) whatever



it took to keep the companies from going under. He soon got what he wanted, and he said he hoped that alone would be enough to see them through. But after taking a closer look at the exact state of their capital reserves and watching buyers begin to shy from their debt, he stepped in.

Treasury agreed to backstop the companies to the tune of \$100 billion each, in exchange for an ownership stake that will be determined by just how much money taxpayers have to pony up. The companies are to be operated as going concerns by the Federal Housing Finance Agency (FHFA), their regulator. The FHFA has already told the CEOs to go (albeit with lush severance packages), but most other executives are being asked to stay. The companies' shares continue to trade, although their market

As the world's biggest debtor, the U.S. can ill afford to develop a reputation for stiffing its creditors



value dropped more than 80% the day after the takeover was announced.

2 | How will this bailout affect my mortgage?

IT SHOULDN'T AFFECT EXISTING LOANS AT all. But Treasury's guarantee of Fannie's debts has already brought down rates on new mortgages because worries about the companies' future had been driving up rates. Two days after the takeover, the average rate on a 30-year fixed mortgage was down to 5.79%, from an average of 6.55% the week before, according to Bankrate.com. As part of the takeover, Treasury announced that it will begin buying mortgage-backed securities—starting with about \$5 billion in purchases in the next month. By making more money available for mortgages,

this should push rates down even more.

Lower mortgage rates make houses more affordable, providing support to the reeling housing market. But there's still a giant supply of unsold houses, and prices are still high relative to rents and incomes. So don't expect a big housing rally.

The better way to view the Fannie takeover is as an attempt to prevent the housing bust from getting dramatically worse and to stave off financial collapse. The companies' combined share of new mortgages rose as high as 80% earlier this year as other lenders retrenched. The percentage has dropped somewhat since, says FHFA Director James Lockhart, but if either Fannie or Freddie had to stop buying mortgages, rates would clearly skyrocket. If either firm actually defaulted on its debts or MBS guarantees,

the consequences might be catastrophic. Why's that? Read on.

3 | Who gained the most from this deal?

THE BIG BENEFICIARIES WERE THE OWNERS of the \$5.3 trillion in Fannie and Freddie bonds and MBS. Therein lies a fascinating, and disturbing, story. For years, the governments of countries that have run big trade surpluses with the U.S.—mainly Japan, China and the oil exporters—put their excess dollars into Treasury securities. When budget surpluses from 1998 to 2001 began to shrink the supply of Treasuries, foreign governments looked to Fannie and Freddie debt as an alternative. When the U.S. returned to deficits in 2002, they kept buying Fannie debt because it paid higher rates than Treasuries did.

Treasuries are explicitly backed by the full faith and credit of the government. Fannie's and Freddie's paper, on the other hand, have long included the disclaimer that they are "not guaranteed by the United States." But both firms were creations of Congress and had access to a Treasury line of credit. As a result, Paulson said when he announced the takeover, "central banks and investors throughout the United States and around the world...believe them to be virtually risk-free." And because the U.S. government created this perception, Paulson felt he had little choice but to make perception a reality.

As the world's biggest debtor, the U.S. can ill afford to develop a reputation for stiffing its creditors, the reasoning went. Rates might rise sharply not just on mortgage securities but for all kinds of U.S. debt, including Treasuries. Such fears say a lot about this country's newfound financial dependence. So does Paulson's preference for making announcements on Sunday—just before the markets open for the week in Asia. "I suspect this is the first case where foreign central banks exercised their leverage as creditors to push the U.S. government to make a policy decision that protected their interests," wrote Brad Setser, an economist at the Council on Foreign Relations who closely tracks capital flows. One suspects it won't be the last.

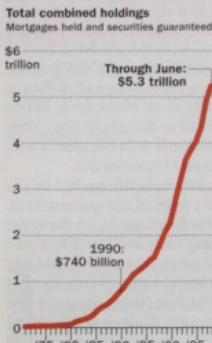
Of course, by extending a taxpayer guarantee to \$5.3 trillion in mortgage debt, Paulson and Congress do risk sparking global worries about the U.S. government's ability to service its debts. But so far, such concerns, while raised occasionally in the financial media, have had no discernible effect on interest rates.

About 80% of Fannie's debt securities remain in the U.S. The PIMCO Total Return Fund, the biggest bond mutual fund, had

The Fall of Fannie and Freddie. How the two mortgage giants rode the wave all the way down

1 | The Boom

During the 1990s housing boom, mortgages held or guaranteed by Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac rose more than 600%, surpassing \$5 trillion



Sources: Fannie Mae; Freddie Mac; Federal Reserve; Treasury Department; Office of Federal Housing Enterprise Oversight

its best day ever the Monday after the announcement, rising 1.32%. Fund manager Bill Gross had put two-thirds of its assets in mortgage-backed securities while using the bully pulpit of his widely read monthly commentaries to call for bolder action to help housing. He got his way.

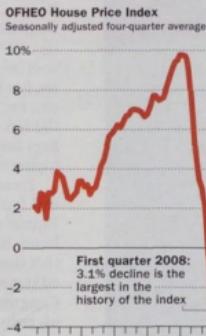
4 | What will this cost me?

YOU AND YOUR FELLOW U.S. TAXPAYERS are now formally on the hook for up to \$200 billion in guarantees to Fannie and Freddie. That figure doesn't actually mean a whole lot—if housing prices begin to stabilize, Treasury could turn a profit on the deal; if the meltdown accelerates, it might not stop at \$200 billion.

"I've been telling people that it's way too soon to estimate this," says Bert Ely, a financial consultant based in Alexandria, Va., who delivered some of the most accurate estimates of the cost of the savings-and-loan crisis of the 1980s. The S&L experience is instructive: the cost estimates started low (Ely's first guess was \$25 billion), then eventually grew to \$500 billion. The actual price tag, as calculated by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. (FDIC) long after the fact: \$123.8 billion, or about 2% of annual GDP during the bailout years. That's equivalent to \$286 billion today.

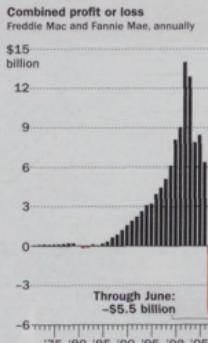
2 | The Bust

As long as home prices rose, Fannie and Freddie didn't have to worry about their mounting debt load. In 2006 the bubble burst, and home prices plunged



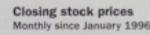
3 | The Beating

As home prices fell, more owners began defaulting on mortgages, leaving the two agencies on the hook for billions. The losses are piling up



4 | The Bailout

The Federal Government stepped in to guarantee the debt held by bond owners, but shareholders have no such protection



It's not just Frannie we're talking about here. There were also \$29 billion in government loans behind Bear Stearns' shotgun marriage to JPMorgan Chase & Co. in March, although since they were made by the Federal Reserve—which can print its own money—it's not a direct cost to taxpayers. Then there are the \$4.5 trillion in bank deposits insured by the FDIC. The first big bank bust of the current crisis, that of mortgage specialist IndyMac, cost an estimated \$8.9 billion, leaving the FDIC with just \$45 billion on hand to cover a likely rash of failures. But while the agency may hit up taxpayers for a loan, this would eventually be paid back with interest by surviving banks. "It becomes an issue only if the banking industry can't pay the bill," says Ely. If things get that bad, duck.

5 | What should happen to Fannie and Freddie now?

AFTER THE SAVINGS-AND-LOAN INDUSTRY imploded, Fannie and Freddie filled the resulting vacuum to become the country's dominant providers of mortgage funding. Earlier this decade, though, Fannie and Freddie were caught cooking the books and punished by regulators with restraints on their growth. Meanwhile, Wall Street firms began buying and

securitizing hundreds of billions of dollars in subprime loans too dodgy to meet Frannie's underwriting standards.

At the height of the housing bubble, from 2004 to 2006, the market share for GSEs shrank toward the single digits. So if you're looking for a culprit for the bubble and bust, Frannie really isn't the best candidate. In one recent paper, three California real estate scholars even argue that it was in fact the absence of Fannie and Freddie and their reasonably tight underwriting standards that caused the bubble.

Whether you believe that or not, it's certainly true that Frannie has since stepped up precisely as private lenders have pulled back. Paulson's takeover plan envisions the GSEs continuing to step up through the end of 2009, after which Treasury's backing expires and the next Administration and Congress will decide the companies' future.

As that deadline approaches, expect a fierce debate about the government's role in the housing market. Critics argue that Fannie and Freddie have become misshapen monsters, getting rich off implicit government guarantees. Yet when Wall Street managed to supplant them by backing subprime mortgages, the result was disaster. It's enough to make even the experts scratch their heads and wonder. ■

THIS MONDAY,

WHEN YOU'RE RUSHING TO
CATCH THE ELEVATOR IN THE
MORNING AND YOU SEE THAT
ONE GUY INSIDE AND HE
CLEARLY SEES YOU BUT DOES
NOTHING ABOUT THE CLOSING
DOOR ASIDE FROM STEPPING
TO THE SIDE SO HE'S SLIGHTLY
BUT NOT TOTALLY HIDDEN
FROM YOUR VIEW, TRY TO
CLEAR YOUR MIND. FOCUS ON
THE FACT THAT THE GREATEST
NIGHT IN FOOTBALL IS
WAITING JUST FOR YOU.

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MONDAY
NIGHT
FOOTBALL

SEPT 15 | EAGLES vs COWBOYS 8:30 PM/ET | IS IT MONDAY YET?

A Sense of Community

When he takes office in January, our next President will surely take steps to help more Americans serve.

But you don't have to wait that long to get started

BY RICHARD STENGEL

WHENEVER RAISES HIS RIGHT HAND TO take the oath of office as President next January will pledge to uphold the Constitution—and will have already promised to make national service a priority for his Administration. John McCain and Barack Obama have served the nation in different ways, but each man has asserted that national service not only can help solve the country's problems but also can and should be a unifying force for America in the 21st century.

McCain's commitment to service is part of a patriotic legacy. The son and grandson of Navy admirals, McCain came close to making the ultimate sacrifice for his country. He has talked again and again about serving a "cause greater than yourself." When Obama graduated from Columbia University, he could have gone on to a prestigious and lucrative corporate career. Instead, he chose to work as a community organizer on the streets of Chicago. Service, he says, "will be a cause of my presidency." Their paths reveal much about the two men. McCain's choice was traditional and honored; Obama's was in some ways unorthodox. And while both men are united in their embrace of national service, their policies suggest different views of the role of government.

The nominees may be the most prominent spokesmen for service, but they are surfing a national wave that is growing rapidly. There were a million more volunteers in 2007 than in 2002, when the Census Bureau started keeping track, and the National Conference on Citizenship's 2008 Civic Report Card to be released this month shows that Americans overwhelmingly support policy changes to increase service incentives and opportunities.

The movement does not emanate from Washington (though Congress will soon consider the bipartisan Kennedy-Hatch bill on national service). Corporations are beginning to offer employees

Inside

21 Ways to Serve America

Service advocates from the boardroom to the Senate floor weigh in on how you can serve your community in big ways and small ones. For their ideas and more, turn the page

The Candidates And Service: In Their Words

Both Barack Obama and John McCain, longtime public servants, say they would renew the call to national service as President. Read why giving back is important to them

paid leave for service. Universities are integrating a service year into their students' academic experience. Citizen entrepreneurs are using technology to improve energy consumption, health care and educational services.

The service movement is uniting the two largest generations in American history, the baby boomers and the millennials. They are the demographic bookends of America, and together they comprise more than half the U.S. population. Both have a strong commitment to civic engagement. Millennials are volunteering in record numbers, while their parents will double the ranks of older volunteers by 2036. Social scientists have talked about a 9/11 generation, and a new study by AARP found that boomers ranked "making a difference by helping others" as one of their most important goals. Both of these generations want to increase their service, and both feel they have not been asked to do enough.

Last year I wrote a cover story called "The Case for National Service." This year, in our second annual community-service issue, we feel that case has been made—so what we offer you are 21 big and small ideas on how you can serve your community, your family, your country. I still believe a service year for young people should become a national rite of passage, but the service movement has already become an extraordinary laboratory of new ideas.

National service is part of our DNA. From the signers of the Declaration pledging their lives and sacred honor, to Ben Franklin's community fire-insurance company, to all the volunteer associations Alexis de Tocqueville saw when he visited America, service is a key part of the story we tell ourselves about this country. The ideas for national service we write about in this issue are as old as the Liberty Bell and as modern as long-distance digital tutoring. And they are part of a new American story that we are inventing every day.



21 Ways To Serve America

1. Support This Bill

By Edward M. Kennedy and Orrin Hatch

IMAGINE THE ENORMOUS DIFFERENCE IT WOULD MAKE to our communities and nation if every American served for a year with a community-service group, nonprofit enterprise or faith-based organization.

This month we're introducing in the Senate the **Serve America Act**, which provides funding and incentives for service programs, so that as many people as possible can serve at any or every stage of their lives. We want to make it feasible for many to devote a year or more to service. We've already seen lives change as Americans give their time and talents to service organizations. But we know much more could be done. It's time to encourage many more Americans to roll up their sleeves and volunteer in communities at home and abroad. Americans across the nation are beginning to answer this call, devoting one year or more to volunteer service and, in the process, changing the world.

They are weatherizing homes and increasing energy conservation. They are improving health care in low-income communities. They are enabling people throughout the world to have cleaner water and lifesaving vaccines. They are helping communities rebuild after the devastation of hurricanes and floods.

Some of the most remarkable efforts are taking place in our schools. Citizen Schools enables people to spend time leading after-school programs to extend the school day, so students have more time to learn and can interact with professionals who will help them connect their learning to a future profession. City Year brings talented, motivated young AmeriCorps members into schools to tutor and mentor at-risk students and show them that someone cares. There are other examples but not nearly enough. It's time to do more.

For those who can't give a year to service, we should create incentives for part-time or short-term service in their communities. We should support states and communities and social entrepreneurs who are developing innovative approaches to help those in need.

And for those who can give a year or more, the time has come to help them do so. The challenges we face are too great. We've already waited too long to tap their amazing energy, ingenuity and commitment.

Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts and Senator Hatch of Utah are collaborating on a national-service bill



2. Take a Tour

Make way, Cancún. Each year thousands of college students choose volunteer-service trips over beach bumming during their spring breaks and summer vacations. Many universities arrange "voluntourists" of their own, and groups, including Students Today Leaders Forever, run trips for interested under-25s. Voluntourism isn't just for the college set: research shows that 45% of Americans have considered taking a volunteer vacation,



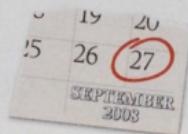
and 5 million households actually followed through with it in 2007. Lasting from a day to a few weeks, voluntourists are abbreviated versions of the kind of trips that have long been sponsored by church missions and the Peace Corps. The Gulf Coast became a popular destination after Hurricane Katrina, and many voluntourists venture abroad. The trips are entertaining too: voluntourists usually take some time off to explore their destination's cultural and recreational life. Getting involved can be as simple as signing up online. CheapTickets lets customers book volunteer activities along with their vacations, while Voluntourism.org offers information on packaged tours through voluntourist groups such as Ambassadors for Children, Globe Aware, Go Differently, Relief Riders International and Voluntourists Without Borders.



Mentors in action Citizen Schools' Marzuq Muhammad, above left, and Cindy Diggs, above, teach eighth-graders in Roxbury, Mass.

3. Go Back to Eighth Grade.
Citizen Schools' 3,200 adult volunteers lead after-school programs for 4,500 kids at middle schools in 21 cities. Students build solar cars, litigate at mock trials and study stocks, creating a 'culture of achievement.'

To get involved, go to citizenschools.org



4. Give Up One Day

Not everyone can devote a lifetime to service. But few could argue that they can't spare a day. On Sept. 27, join the ServiceNation coalition by taking part in one of more than 1,600 service events planned across all 50 states. And sign up to volunteer again next Jan. 19 for the King Day of Service, which takes place annually on Martin Luther King Jr. Day. To plan your participation, go online to events.servicenation.org or milkyday.gov.



5. Rethink Christmas

By John J. Dilulio Jr. and John M. Bridgeland

WE THINK ABOUT CHRISTMAS AS BEING ESPECIALLY FOR KIDS. AS Dec. 25 approaches, toy stores bustle and nonprofit programs for youth get a yuletide bump in volunteers and donations. Operation Santa Claus programs at local churches drop off presents at inner-city elementary schools. National church networks like the Prison Fellowship Ministries' Angel Tree program hand-deliver gifts to children in the name of their incarcerated parents. Such initiatives deserve all the support they get, and more.

Yet most local congregations have no programs at all for senior citizens. Nationally, about 4 million seniors live in poverty, and millions more live as frail or homebound shut-ins. In the Philadelphia area, **Aid for Friends** (AFF) has mobilized more than 250 churches and some 16,000 interfaith volunteers to assist elderly people in need, but few other cities have such faith-based, senior-serving networks.

You can change that. Make December a special month for remembering the aged who are disabled, impoverished or aching with loneliness. Redefine Christmas as a season for preparing to bring hope and peace year-round to needy older neighbors. Visit the AFF website (aidforfriends.org). Find out how many seniors live in your community. Map out local elder-care centers and retirement homes. Volunteer to visit, drive, prepare meals, perform handyman duties, donate bathtub grab bars or toiletries—or contribute money to others who do. Have children craft greeting cards, assemble food kits or make supervised home or hospital visits.

And if, like us, you are a Bible-believing person, maybe call your Christmas-redefining initiative Operation Psalm 71:9: "Do not cast me aside in my old age; as my strength fails, do not forsake me."

Dilulio and Bridgeland worked in the White House on community-service initiatives during President George W. Bush's first term

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MY PROJECT WAS TO TELL UNFORGETTABLE STORIES.

AMX 5079 18



MY PROJECT WAS TO BRING A CITY TO LIFE.



79

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MY PROJECT WAS TO ENCOURAGE PEOPLE TO DANCE TO THEIR OWN TUNE.



MY PROJECT WAS TO USE LAUGHTER TO HELP CHILDREN LEARN.

20



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6. Start Young

By Miley Cyrus

IF YOU PICK UP A GUITAR WHEN YOU'RE 8, you're really good at it by the time you're 20. It's the same with giving back. My family has been visiting Kentucky coal-mine towns since I was little. We take clothes, gifts and school supplies. It's an eye opener for me, seeing families here in America living in Third World conditions. And it makes me want to make a difference. That's why I'm spending my sweet-16 party in October at Disneyland with kids from **Youth Service America**, an organization dedicated to volunteerism among people ages 5 to 25. The YSA kids are already having a major impact on their schools and communities. The truth is, it's never too early to get involved. Someday today's kids will be running for President. Now is our prep time. We need to get some practice in before we save the world.



Cyrus is a singer and an actress on the show *Hannah Montana*

7. Create a New Us

By Thomas Sander

BANDING TOGETHER TO PROVIDE COMMUNITY service builds Army-foxhole-like solidarity. Programs like **City Year**, in which ex-gang members may serve alongside college students who have deferred admission, prove that small corps can accomplish vital community service. They also implode stereotypes. We learn that what unites us—our musical tastes, the jokes we find funny and, more fundamentally, our belief in healing cities through grime and sweat—dwarfs our divisions. Why

is this important?

Virtually all forms of social engagement have declined over the past generation, from the time spent visiting neighbors to the number of community projects and close friendships. And these social and civic connections actually lubricate society, helping connected Americans improve their health and happiness and find meaningful work. These connections also strengthen communities. Among the most critical yet hardest-to-build social ties are bonds that cross racial, ethnic and class cleavages, especially as our communities become increasingly diverse. Daily, many of us inadvertently reinforce racial barriers; national service can catalyze our moral obligation to dismantle them.



Sander directs the Saguaro Seminar on Civic Engagement at Harvard's Kennedy School



8. Get Out!

Take a page from F.D.R.'s playbook, and join a modern-day Civilian Conservation Corps to help preserve our natural resources. Funding for national parks has been stretched in recent years, but organizations such as the Nature Conservancy, the National Park Service, Green Corps and local horticultural societies connect volunteers with opportunities to fill the gaps. Building trails, clearing litter, teaching kids about nature and lobbying for conservation are just a few of the many ways to get involved.



9. Work with the Secretary

By Arnold Schwarzenegger

IF ANYONE HAD TOLD ME WHEN I CAME TO AMERICA 40 YEARS ago that someday I'd be giving speeches that promote service and volunteering as a way of life, I would have thought they were crazy. When I emigrated from Austria, my goals were to become the greatest bodybuilder ever, conquer Hollywood and make a lot of money. Not because I was selfish. I just didn't grow up in a culture where anyone ever talked to us about giving back.

Then I met Maria Shriver and her extraordinary parents Sargent Shriver and Eunice Kennedy Shriver and had the opportunity to be inspired by the First Family of Service. I became immersed in after-school programs, the Special Olympics and the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports. I discovered Gandhi was right: The best way to find yourself is to lose yourself in the service of others. It also made me feel terrific.

To elevate service to the status it deserves, we have to change our culture so everyone is inspired to give something back. That's why last February I created in California the nation's first cabinet-level secretary for service and volunteering. Our new secretary attends regular cabinet meetings with the heads of state agencies. By having her in the room, the nonprofit sector has a voice at the highest levels of state government. Every governor should follow suit.

We need the same type of commitment in Washington. Imagine a new **Secretary of Service and Volunteering** sitting down with the Secretaries of Defense, the Treasury, Homeland Security, Commerce and so on. Imagine the service revolution this could help spark across our great nation.

We also created a site, CaliforniaVolunteers.org, that's simple to use and links people to more than 40,000 volunteer opportunities in their communities. Every state should do that.

Government has to make sure it's not an obstacle to service. It must partner with faith-based groups, foundations, nonprofits, community groups and businesses to make it as easy as possible for people to volunteer. Government cannot do everything, but it can and must mobilize, coordinate and encourage people to give something back and make clear that it is everyone's duty to serve in one way or another.

Schwarzenegger is the governor of California



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AN AMERICAN REVOLUTION 

10.**Ignore Your Age**

By Tom Nelson

AMERICANS AGES 50-PLUS HAVE HISTORICALLY been a large part of the nation's volunteer corps and, as the song goes, you ain't seen nuthin' yet.

Baby boomers and older Americans are increasingly postponing retirement to start public-service-oriented careers. Tens of millions of boomers are also volunteering through their churches or via programs like Meals on Wheels and AARP Tax Aide, which provides free tax preparation and other assistance to millions of low- and middle-income taxpayers, with special attention to those 60 and older.

According to More to Give, a new report from AARP and Civic Enterprises, about 45 million older Americans plan to increase their volunteering in the next five years. Here are some ways they can do so:

Get a retirement job. Most boomers plan to hold a paying job after retirement, and many cite money as a barrier to volunteerism. Recareering into service-oriented jobs can allow them to do good while also doing well. While some jobs paying \$8 to \$25 an hour may require specific training at nonprofits like the Red Cross, others may not require a formal education.

Join the classroom corps. Civic Ventures' Experience Corps program puts 2,000 older Americans to work as tutors, mentors and class assistants in schools in 23 cities across the country. The program has helped improve student and school performance. California's EnCorps Teachers Program enables eligible retiring boomers to enter the classroom as math and science teachers.

The toughest job you'll ever love (reprise). As it did almost 50 years ago, the Peace Corps is actively recruiting boomers to serve overseas. Five percent of current Peace Corps volunteers are ages 50-plus, and the agency is hoping to recruit more boomers who want to see a new part of the world—and leave it in better shape than they found it.

Fifty-plus volunteers have tremendous potential to help solve daunting problems. It's never too early—or too late—to start.

Nelson is the chief operating officer for AARP

11. Serve Those Who Have Served. Give vets career counseling or other help through hireahero.org. Reach out to families of deployed troops via americasupportsyou.mil.

Don't Retire!**12.****Take Home an Animal**

An overlooked victim of the housing crisis: the family pet. With a record 1.2 million homes in foreclosure, displaced dogs and cats need a place to stay too. Sign up to house and care for a pet until its owner finds a residence or the animal is adopted. Use petfinder.com to find local groups like PetConnect Rescue, which places dogs and cats in foster care.

**13.****Turn Off the Tube**

Volunteering might seem like a huge commitment, but it often isn't hard to find ways to free up some time. Statistically, the biggest single difference between volunteers and nonvolunteers is how much television they watch. Volunteers spend about 15 hours a week tuned in, compared with 23 hours for nonvolunteers. Those 8 hours a week add up to more than 400 hours a year—enough time to take on any number of service projects. And there's always TiVo.





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14.**Transform Your Ideals into Action**

By Colin L. Powell

WHEN, AS AMERICANS, WE SPEAK OF SERVING OUR COUNTRY, THE SELFLESS men and women of our armed forces usually come to mind. These everyday Americans don a uniform and transform themselves into extraordinary human beings who protect our citizens and preserve our freedoms for generations to come. I was proud to serve beside so many courageous Americans in the U.S. military. But when I retired after three decades, I knew my service to America was far from complete.

In 1997, I founded *America's Promise Alliance*, a coalition of organizations that gives young people the wraparound supports—the Five Promises—they need to succeed in school, work and life. Through the Alliance, people serve their country in various ways. These ordinary Americans undertake extraordinary acts of service—mentoring young people to help them stay in school, providing service-learning opportunities, helping underserved children receive the health care for which they are eligible.

I challenge all citizens to take a moment to think about their greatest passions, gravest concerns or grandest ambitions and transform those ideals and ideas into action. Whether for a national cause, a local organization or the life of one individual, each of us has the power to make a difference.

As men and women of service, we transform ourselves, our communities and, ultimately, our country. We uphold America's tradition as a "service nation" and fulfill our responsibility to one another. Whether it's a teenager teaching kids to read, a hardworking mother finding time to serve meals in a soup kitchen or a retiree aiding those too frail to help themselves, we provide for the common defense and the common good of our nation. Thomas Jefferson said, "There is a debt of service due from every man to his country, proportioned to the bounties which nature and fortune have measured to him." As the richest nation in the world, our bounty is infinite. And so is our capacity to help.

Powell served as U.S. Secretary of State from 2001 to 2004.

VOLUNTEER RATES: THE NATIONAL PICTURE**44%**

of Utah residents engage in volunteer activities—the highest rate in the nation. Nevada, with 18%, has the lowest rate.



15. Do It Pro Bono. To find service opportunities that suit your skills, consult the Taproot Foundation, which helps connect professionals with nonprofits in need of their talent. And visit abillionandchange.org, which aims to gather \$1 billion worth of skills-based expertise to support nonprofits.

16.**Cut Your Hair!**

Get a haircut, and donate your excess ponytail to nonprofits like Locks of Love and Wigs for Kids, which craft wigs and hairpieces for children who have lost their hair because of cancer treatments or medical conditions. The ponytail has to be at least 10 inches long.

**17.****Get Your College Involved**

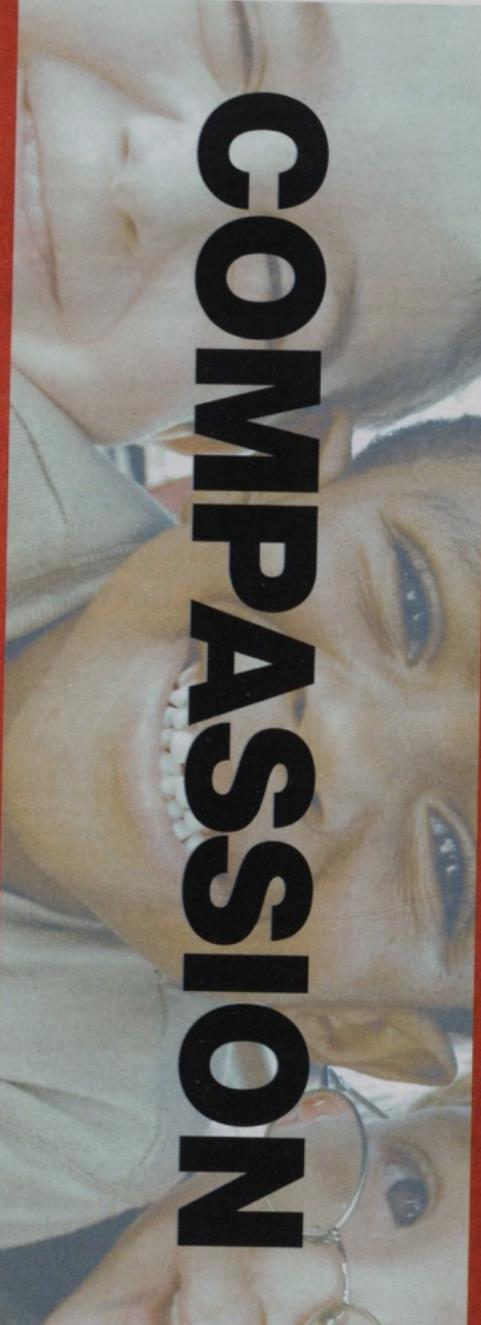
By Lawrence S. Bacow

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY to educate the next generation of active, engaged citizens. When I recently welcomed our entering students at Tufts, I gave them their first homework assignment—to vote. But voting alone is not enough. If we are to address this nation's major challenges, we need people across the political spectrum to serve in government, to run for office and to work to build stronger, more vibrant communities. What we don't need is people sitting on the sidelines complaining.

Many colleges have set up programs to facilitate community service. Some encourage incoming students to consider a "gap year" for service before enrolling. We're trying something more ambitious: because alumni who are burdened by debt can't afford to take jobs in public service, we've started a **loan-repayment-assistance program** to help degree holders from all our schools—undergraduate, graduate and professional—pursue careers in the nonprofit or public sectors.

It's the first university-wide program of its kind in the country. An inspiring group of more than 400 alumni applied for assistance this year. Ranging in age from 22 to 37, they live all over the U.S. and abroad. Many work in education or health and human services, while others are aspiring diplomats and advocates for human rights and the environment. What unites them is a passionate commitment to make the world a better place. Every student who graduates with a loan worries about how to pay it off. We hope Tufts' loan-repayment-assistance program will remove some of that worry. Helping young people pursue their passion for service is one of the best investments our society can make.

Bacow is the president of Tufts University



HELLO
my name is

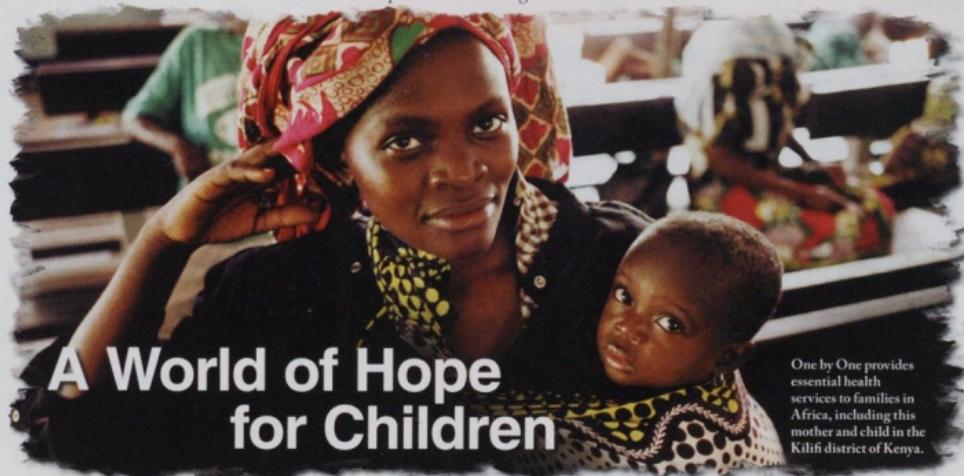
COMPASSION

Our global success isn't limited to business. The Amway One by One™ Campaign helps improve the lives of children in need. Together with our Independent Business Owners, we've volunteered over 800,000 hours and donated more than \$52 million so far. We want to change the world — one child at a time.

Contact an Amway Global® Independent Business Owner, visit AmwayGlobal.com or call 1-800-950-7732



Now you know



A World of Hope for Children

One by One provides essential health services to families in Africa, including this mother and child in the Kilifi district of Kenya.

Millions of children around the world live without health care, education or basic security. The Amway One by One™ Campaign for Children is committed to helping young people everywhere not just survive, but thrive. By supporting innovative programs on six continents, the campaign fosters hope and opportunity in uniquely powerful ways.

The Boat School in China

Hu Yake, a former teacher on Lake Hongze in remote central China, was shocked to learn that local fishermen's children had no school to attend. Determined to change that, he acquired an old cargo barge and transformed it into a floating school.

Forty-two students came to study reading, writing and mathematics on the boat school. But when the students' struggling families—coping with drought and a dwindling fish supply—could offer little support, financial difficulties mounted.



A student waits to board the boat school in China.

After hearing about the school on TV, a local One by One Campaign group raised more than \$18,000 to cover costs and provide scholarships. For Mr. Hu, the unexpected gift kept his dream alive. Now, the children who study at the simple boat school can build their dreams.

A Healthier Outlook in Kenya

Until recently, quality medical care was unheard of in the Kilifi district of Kenya. Infant mortality rates had been historically high; many children died of preventable diseases, including malaria and even measles.

But that is changing. In partnership with UNICEF, European affiliates from the One by One Campaign are helping to provide essential health services here, with a focus on inoculations for women and children. One by One's support enables UNICEF to increase the impact of its efforts to prevent HIV/AIDS transmission to children, provide vitamin A supplements and distribute mosquito nets—an important tool for fighting malaria.

In health centers, schools and homes throughout Kilifi, One by One's support is helping children and families to improve their odds against diseases no one should have to face.

The Art of Caring in India

A children's art contest helps a One by One Campaign in India to raise funds on behalf of that nation's blind children. From the thousands of designs submitted, 10 are selected and printed as holiday greeting cards. Proceeds from

card sales go to two major social service organizations for the blind.

The money is used primarily to expand Braille textbook printing programs and the distribution of kits that help visually impaired children learn mathematics and geometry, as well as to read and write in Braille.

With the cost of Braille books expensive for even middle-class Indian parents, the free books open up new horizons for



The campaign raises funds to better educate visually impaired students in India.

students like Siddhi Desai, a top-ranked eighth grader. Her mother says, "This program provides exactly the kind of encouragement these children need to graduate on time, and to get ready for the next stage of their lives."

In five years, the One by One Campaign has provided hope and opportunity to nearly six million children and shared more than \$52 million worldwide. Driving this momentum is a simple belief: that by helping a child, you help the community—and that you *can* change the world.

CELEBRATING 50 YEARS



Presented by

**18.****Prepare for the Worst**

By Walter Isaacson

HERE'S AN IDEA THAT COULD HAVE HELPED MITIGATE AMERICA'S WORST RECENT disasters—the messy occupation of Iraq and the botched response to Hurricane Katrina—while allowing people from various walks of life to serve our nation and the world: a **Civilian Reserve Corps**. It would be made up of engineers, doctors, judges, construction workers, teachers and others who could be deployed to restore stability in troubled areas. They could help get hospitals, schools, financial markets, utilities and courts up and running in post-invasion theaters like Iraq and Afghanistan. They could drill wells and build roads in fragile states such as Somalia. They could restore infrastructure after a tsunami in Asia—or a hurricane at home.

The need for a Civilian Reserve Corps—a version of which has been proposed by Senator Richard Lugar—became apparent after the invasion of Iraq, when untrained political appointees were tapped to become part of the Coalition Provisional Authority. They made a hash of restoring civil order and soon quit in large numbers, leaving behind a disaster that haunts us to this day. Since then, the Defense Department has increasingly focused on providing humanitarian and civic assistance in counterinsurgency situations. But as Reuben Brigety, a former Navy officer who is now a defense-policy analyst, points out in a report for the Center for American Progress, civilians can generally perform elements of this mission better and cheaper. He cites the example of a Navy Seabee detachment working around the clock to dig wells in two villages in Kenya; it cost them \$250,000 to do a job that civilian workers generally do for \$10,000, and the wells ended up not working.

Katrina's aftermath showed how a Civilian Reserve Corps could be valuable domestically too. I was involved in enlisting people to restart the school system in New Orleans. Because Teach for America had been working for years in the region, there was a corps of alumni who responded to the call and helped to start and staff new charter schools. But there was no comparable corps to help revive the hospitals, courts, mental-health system or other community functions.

Unlike the Peace Corps, the Civilian Reserve Corps would not be a full-time commitment. Instead, it would be akin to the military reserves. Americans of all ages, willing to train part time, would likely leap at the chance to become proud enlistees and to remind the world what type of people we really can be.

Isaacson is the CEO of the Aspen Institute

20. Mentor an Ex-Convict.

Volunteer for an organization like Ready4Work and provide job advice and emotional support to one of the 650,000 adults released from incarceration each year.

**19.****Take Off from Work**

By Jeff Swartz

IN A HYPERCOMPETITIVE GLOBAL ECONOMY, there's no time for volunteering. For everyone from CEO to salesperson, workdays are overfull with must-do, high-priority tasks. There's no time for anything noncritical. Gotta make the quarter ...

As a citizen, I'm aware that 37.3 million Americans live in poverty and 12.6 million children live in homes where there often isn't enough to eat. Utility, child-care and health-care costs are skyrocketing. But as a CEO, what can I be expected to do about any of this?

I was first introduced to the notion of volunteering during the regular workday 20 years ago, when I was invited to serve at a center for young adults recovering from drug and alcohol addiction. It was a startling experience, one that changed my view of what we can accomplish during the workday. I learned that serving strengthened our business from within and allowed us to accomplish not only the regular business agenda but more.

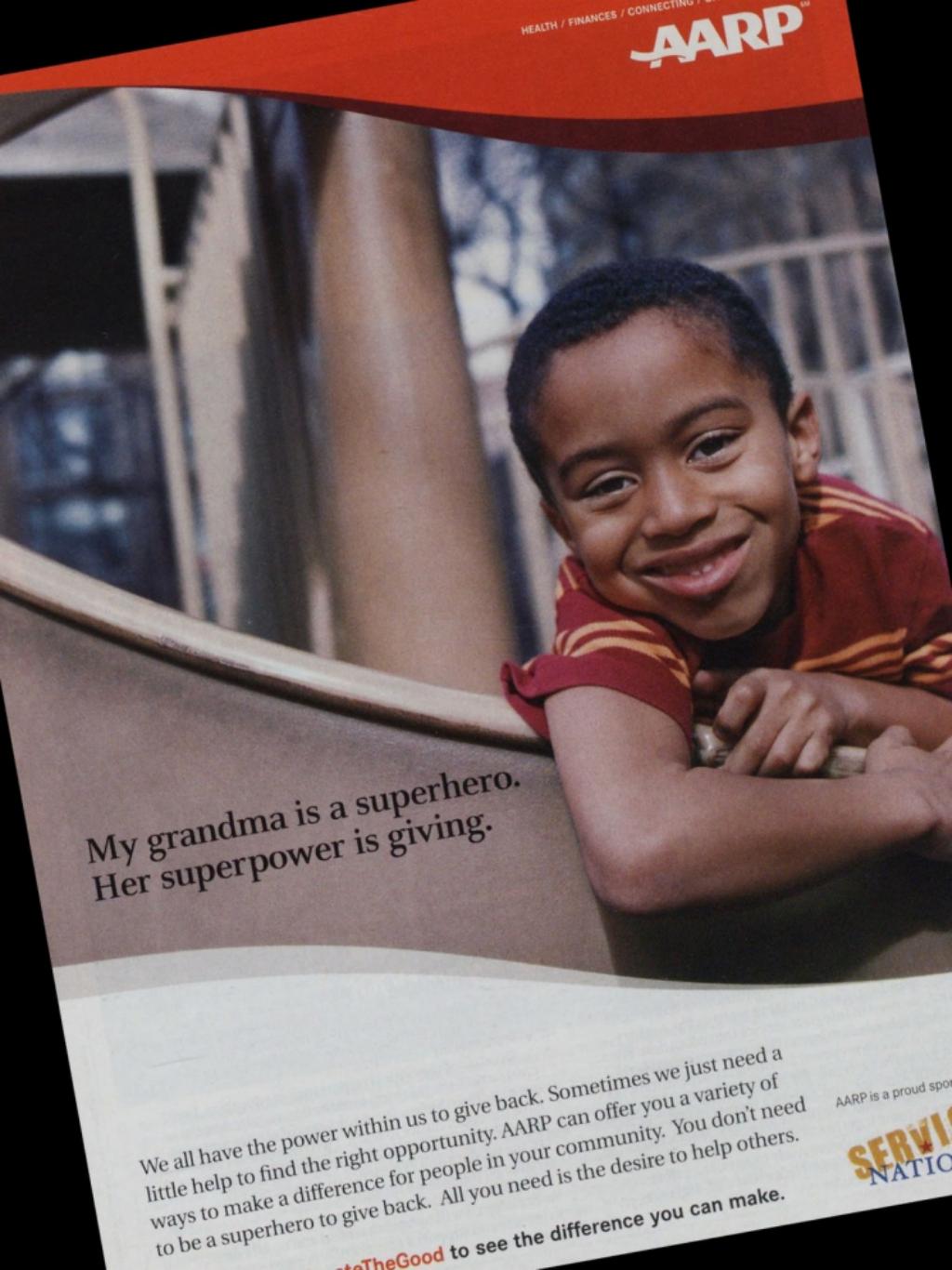
And so we at Timberland have created the **Path of Service**, offering paid time off for employees to volunteer in their community—during the busy workweek. Today Timberland employees around the globe receive 40 hours of paid volunteer time each year and can apply for longer-term service sabbaticals as well. In our annual employee survey, volunteering is considered a key benefit.

The social challenges that plague our world won't be solved by government or church alone. For-profit business can be part of the solution, as part of the everyday business agenda. We can earn our quarterly profits and take our share of responsibility for repairing the breaches in society at the same time. See you in the civic square.

Swartz is the president and CEO of Timberland

21.**Log On**

To launch your search for service opportunities, go to volunteer.gov and surf through its database of millions of projects and organizations. Whether you want to tutor students from your computer, clean up a local park or coach a neighborhood team, you'll find myriad ways to make a difference.

A young African American boy with short dark hair is smiling warmly at the camera. He is wearing a red and yellow striped shirt and is leaning his head and arms against a light-colored wooden railing. In the background, there's a building with large windows and some trees.

My grandma is a superhero.
Her superpower is giving.

We all have the power within us to give back. Sometimes we just need a little help to find the right opportunity. AARP can offer you a variety of ways to make a difference for people in your community. You don't need to be a superhero to give back. All you need is the desire to help others.

GetTheGood to see the difference you can make.

AARP is a proud sponsor

SERVICE
NATION



Behind the scenes A young Obama addresses a meeting on Chicago's South Side

A Call to Service

By Barack Obama

OVER TWO DECADES AGO, I FOUND MY CALLING WORKING in a community devastated by steel-plant closings. My story is not unique. Generations of Americans have connected their stories to the larger American story through service and helped move our country forward.

We need that service now. We face determined enemies and definitive challenges at home. This moment is too important for America's greatest resource—our people—to sit on the sidelines. So as President, I will ask for the active citizenship of Americans of all ages and walks of life.

First, we need to create opportunities to serve. I'll ask more young people to serve in uniform and expand the size of our military. And I'll increase AmeriCorps—our network of local, state and national service programs—from 75,000 slots to 250,000.

That service should be directed toward pressing national challenges. We need more Americans to teach and an Energy Corps to help develop renewable and efficient energy. And we need to grow our Foreign Service and Peace Corps to renew America's standing in the world.

Second, we need to invest in grass-roots ideas, because the "next great innovation" usually doesn't come from government. So I'll create a Social Investment Fund Network and bring together faith-based organizations and foundations to expand successful programs across the country.

Third, we need to integrate service into education. We should help schools develop service programs outside the classroom. And I've proposed an annual college-tuition tax credit of \$4,000 in exchange for 100 hours of public service. You invest in America, and America invests in you—that's how we'll make college affordable for every American.

It's time to come together to shape the course of history. After 9/11, all Americans were ready to answer a call to service, but it didn't come. I will issue that call, and make it a central cause of my presidency.

**This moment
is too
important
for America's
people to
sit on the
sidelines**



Return to Vietnam U.S. Navy Commander McCain visits a Saigon orphanage in 1974

Inspiring Citizens to Do More

By John McCain

EVERY DAY PEOPLE SERVE THEIR NEIGHBORS AND OUR nation in many different ways, from helping a child learn and easing the loneliness of those without a family to defending our freedom overseas. It is in this spirit of dedication to others and to our country that I believe service should be broadly and deeply encouraged.

As President, I will create a Service to America initiative to bolster the teaching of American history and civics education and to inspire Americans to serve causes greater than their self-interest. Civic participation over a lifetime, working in neighborhoods and communities and service of all kinds—military and civilian, full-time and part-time, national and international—will strengthen

America's civic purpose.

I will establish a White House Service to America office to streamline national-service efforts across the Federal Government and also coordinate a network of private-sector venture-capital funds to be matched with federal grants to support job-retraining or vocational-training efforts in schools and targeted communities where job loss persists. I will seek more students in

community service through the Federal Work-Study Program, and I will expand opportunities for service overseas for all Americans.

Because of the critical importance of education, I will create a realistic teaching-certification requirement so outstanding people with many years of service and work have the opportunity to teach. I will increase service opportunities for the disabled community and also tap the wisdom and experience of our veterans and retirees for our service initiatives.

I believe we should always put our country first. As President, I will uphold that ideal and do all I can to inspire and support a new era of service to our nation.

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1. Annual Percentage Yield is effective 8/13/08 and is subject to change. A \$1 minimum deposit is required to open a new account. Withdrawal limits apply. Online statements required.

2. The Annual Percentage Yield (APY) of the Complete Savings Account as of 8/13/08 is more than 8 times the national average APY for savings accounts with balances of \$25,000. Source: Informa Research Services, Inc., Calabasas, CA. www.informars.com. Although the information has been obtained from the various institutions themselves, the accuracy cannot be guaranteed.

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The Truth About Teen Girls

So you think they're having sex too soon and it's the media's fault. It's not that simple

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE

Which one is she? Two faces of girlhood, as embodied by Birna Gustafsson. (By the way, she's 11)

UNLESS YOU'RE AN ADOLESCENT male, you have already asked yourself this question, perhaps in the past few days: Is there something wrong with teen girls? Specifically, are they getting too sexy? Barely a week passes without a flash bulletin blinding us with news of another prominent preadult who is in the family way or showing off her underthings. Miley Cyrus, 15, seminaked! Jamie Lynn Spears, 16, pregnant! A bunch of Massachusetts high schoolers all having babies together! It's an epidemic!

Once the idea has taken hold, it's hard to shake off, and the fact that the presidential campaign features a pregnant 17-year-old means that the debate about teenage sexuality is growing only more heated. Girlhood sexiness seems to be everywhere: on TV shows and in movies, in advertising, in teen magazines and all over the Internet. Most disturbingly, it seems to be coming from the girls themselves: the way they dress, the way they text, the way they present themselves on Facebook and, oh, mercy, what they get up to at parties. There are whispers, stories

A large, close-up photograph of a young woman's face. She has long, wavy blonde hair and is looking directly at the camera with a neutral expression. Her eyes are light-colored, possibly blue or green. Her lips are slightly parted, showing a hint of red lipstick. The lighting is soft, highlighting her features.

for which the anecdotal evidence—from school counselors and child psychologists and mothers—keeps accumulating like a national pile of unwashed laundry. These suggest teen girls are getting very liberal with sexual favors, especially of the type detailed in the Starr report. In one generation, girls seem to have moved from Easy-Bake to easy virtue.

In the past four months, there have been four weighty books published on the subject, with titles like *Hooked: New Science on How Casual Sex Is Affecting Our Children* and *So Sexy So Soon*. Most of these treatises have a similar thesis: young girls are sexually loose because they're aping behavior they see on TV or read about in magazines. And as if on cue, the media deliver a new *90210* with an oral-sex scene in the first episode; *Gossip Girl* comes back with billboards promoting it as MIND-BLOWINGLY INAPPROPRIATE ... and your daughter starts singing that alarmingly suggestive song about licking a lollipop.

Before we reinstitute the chastity belt, though, we might need to take a breath. There are lots of reasons to worry about adolescent girls having sex too early, ranging from serious health risks to the likelihood that they are seeking it for the wrong reasons to the impact it may have on their

'Pregnant celebrities are no big deal. Most teenagers can tell the difference between fact and fiction.'

—ASHLEY HILL, 16,
GLOUCESTER HIGH SENIOR

ability to maintain healthy future relationships. But is it the sex we're worried about or the sexiness? Is it what they do or how they look? And whose problem is this anyway?

Wasn't It Ever Thus?

MIDDLE SCHOOL COUNSELOR JULIA TAYLOR of North Carolina had a conversation with her sixth-graders last year that worried her. "A lot of them were watching *The O.C.*," she says. "I just remember the show's multiple sexual partners, the cocaine use, and then at the end, they drink, they drive, they set fires, but all is well! There are never any consequences." Taylor understands the media better than many. Her sister Mary is a producer who has worked on MTV shows including *My Super Sweet 16* and *Spring Break*. "I'm messing them up, and she's fixing them," says Mary jokingly. But Mary also suggests that if nobody were watching the shows or buying the products that are advertised on them, they wouldn't succeed. "We're not *Little House on the Prairie* anymore," she says. "The world is different. If parents said, 'You can't watch this,' and the ratings dropped, maybe we would change things."

Society has always had this Taylor-sisters duality in its attitude toward young women. Like steak-house owners trying to raise vegetarians, we idealize youth and sexiness but recoil if our young want to be sexy. What has complicated things recently is that girls are literally getting older younger. Their bodies are hitting physical maturity sooner, often before they are ready to deal with the issues of sexuality that go along with it. According to Jane Brown, a journalism professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, "Twelve-to-14-year-old girls who start puberty earlier are more interested in sexual content in the media." Brown's studies found that adolescents whose media diet was rich in sexual content were more than twice as likely as others to have had sex by the time they were 16.

And yet. With the cornucopia of media at teens' disposal in the past decade and a half, on cell phones and computers as well as TVs, early-adolescent sex should be having a growth spurt. But the figures don't necessarily support one. Despite a minor increase in 2006, the rate of pregnancies among teen girls has been on a downward trend since 1991. Another indicator, the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases, is alarmingly high: nearly 1 in 4 girls ages 14 to 19 and nearly 1 in 2 African-American girls, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. But this is the first year such a study has been completed, and the study doesn't

Girls on Film. If they're young, female and in the media, they're probably beautiful and behaving badly. But image isn't everything



90210 The CW has revamped the high school soap, but most viewers aren't teen girls



America's Next Top Model Tyra Banks works over girls like Whitney Thompson



Miley Cyrus That Annie Leibovitz photo of the Hannah Montana star in *Vanity Fair*

separate 14-to-16-year-olds from 17-to-19-year-olds, so it's still unclear which way that trend is heading.

Other studies imply that girls, while not exactly chaste, are not behaving in ways that media reports about the hookup culture might lead us to believe. According to the Guttmacher Institute, one third of surveyed teenagers 15 to 17 had had oral sex, and most of those were not virgins. Of teens ages 15 to 19 who had had oral sex only, two-thirds reported having had only one partner. There are plenty of people who want their daughters to wait until they get married to get it on. But failing that, many

parents would prefer that their daughters have sex for the first time with someone they are in love with. Which is what the studies suggest they may be doing.

The Drip-Drip Effect

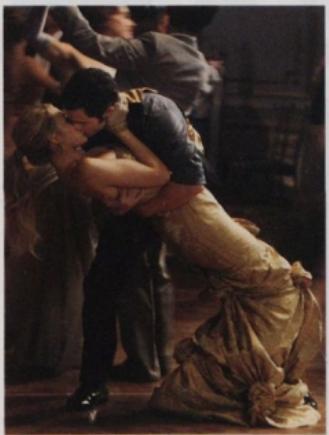
IT WOULD BE NAIVE TO BELIEVE THAT THE media are having no effect on teens and tweens. But it's much more complicated than Tracey See, Tracey Do. In the aftermath of the Gloucester pregnancy spurt, some experts spoke of a *Juno* effect, girls getting pregnant to emulate that movie's protagonist. Local teens scoffed at this idea. "Pregnant celebrities are no big deal," says Ashley Hill, 16, a (not pregnant) senior at Gloucester High. "Most teenagers aren't dumb. They can tell the difference between fact and fiction." Studies support her: teens are less susceptible to media firestorms that galvanize the grownups, like those set off by a famous pregnant person or a seminaked tween star. But when most outlets say the same thing, the effect can be overwhelming. "We call this the drip-drip vs. the drench effect," says Brown.

Some insight into how media images are processed into behavior comes from a

When tweens see a picture of Miley Cyrus with her back bare and hair tousled, they don't see her as postcoital. That's an adult interpretation



The Hills Audrina Patridge, left, and Lauren Conrad are MTV's version of reality



Would-be Veep will be grandma
Sarah Palin's pregnant teen daughter Bristol was given wall-to-wall media coverage

Gossip Girl High schoolers Serena (Blake Lively) and Dan (Penn Badgley) in one of their on-and-off moments



2004 Harvard study on the arrival of TV in Western Fiji. The most noticeable change was that Fijian women became dissatisfied with their bodies and tried to lose weight. They didn't necessarily want to be like Europeans; they just wanted to look like them. Is it possible that the situation for teens and tweens is the same? They don't want to be like the characters in *Gossip Girl* (only 16% of whose viewers are actually teen girls) or *America's Next Top Model*; they just want to look like them, to try on that identity. "Nine-year-old girls do not experience dressing up in a sexy way as a sexy thing," says Deborah Tolman, one of the authors of 2007's American Psychological Association (APA) report on the sexuality of teen girls. "They're just wearing clothes and thinking it's cool to look older." School-age girls want to wear thong underwear for the same reason their mothers wanted to wear crocheted bikinis: to drive their parents nuts.

The real problems arise when the media unanimously suggest that hotness is the only identity worth trying on. And when they venerate physical desirability in young women without explaining how

to use it responsibly. And when they define desirability in such a narrow fashion that many girls feel they have to amp up their sexual signals to measure up. One of the clear findings last year of the APA task force was that an early emphasis on sexuality stunts girls' development in other areas. "When kids are about defining themselves, if you give them this idea that sexy is the be-all and end-all, they drop other things," says Sharon Maxwell, a psychologist who specializes in adolescent sexuality.

Should girls fear that they don't have the requisite hotness, there's a surefire way to overcome that: find a boy to sleep with. "They're subconsciously looking for love," says Amanda Ireland, another Gloucester teen. "They think, If I have a baby, I'll be someone. It gives them an identity." How can Ireland be so sure? She gave birth to daughter Haley, now 3, when she was 15.

Learning from *Lolita*

THE INTERPLAY AMONG TEENS, THE MEDIA and sex is a complicated one. As Ireland shrewdly observes, the way a girl sees herself is more powerful than what she sees in magazines. But here's the rub: what she

sees in the media does affect that self-image, especially in terms of her body. Some experts recommend media-literacy classes—as early as kindergarten. "Children need to learn how to dissect and understand this pervasive aspect of their environment," says Gigi Durham, author of *The Lolita Effect*, "just as they learn to understand the seasons or Newton's laws of motion."

Durham also suggests, counterintuitively, that kids should have access to more media. But the venues she recommends are those—like *girlisinc.org*—that are not in a symbiotic relationship with people who want to sell things. And she believes that girls should be encouraged to create their own media, not just to talk back but also to understand how they work.

Since it's impossible to put the genie back into the bottle, girls also need some straight talk about what to do with all the desirability society is heaping on them. "It's like we've given them the keys to the car," says psychologist Maxwell, "but we haven't taught them how to drive." The APA task force urged more study into how teen girls are affected by seeing people who look just like them heralded as sexual icons as well as research to "identify effective, culturally competent protective factors." Translation: Find something not lame that sends an alternative message. Stephenie Meyer's highly popular *Twilight* series might be one example.

Most important, say therapists and academics, adults need to look to themselves. "There's a whole other piece that we don't talk about," says Tolman, "which is holding the people who are reacting to these young girls accountable." When tweens see a picture of Cyrus with her back bare and her hair tousled, they don't see her as postcoital. That's an adult interpretation. Cyrus has made it abundantly clear that she hopes to remain a virgin until she's married. "It's this very odd attitude," says Durham, "where at once we want to eroticize [girls like Britney Spears and Cyrus], and then we turn around and condemn them immediately."

Maybe we believe so readily in notions like a plague of teen sex because they titillate us, the grownups. The volume of child-pornography arrests has skyrocketed in the past decade. It's not teens who are using it. And it's mostly not teens who indulge in the voyeuristic obsession with starlets or who use young people to sell products or win votes. It's all of us. Fifty years ago last month, *Lolita* was published in the U.S. Her name is often invoked to describe today's teens. But what people forget is that in Nabokov's book, *Lolita* was the victim. —WITH REPORTING BY KATHLEEN KINGBURY/GLOUCESTER AND ELISABETH SALEMME AND TIFFANY SHARPLES/NEW YORK ■

Free us.



To our leaders:

Free us from our addiction to oil.
Free us from \$4.00/gallon gas.
Free us from \$4.39/gallon gas.
Free us from \$4.61/gallon gas.
Save our economy.
Save us from this climate crisis.
Give us truly clean energy.
Use the wind.
Use the sun.
we demand that we use them.
we demand that we Repower America.
There is a solution.
There is no time to waste.
we, the American people,
demand a better future.
**Give us 100% clean electricity
within 10 years.**

Go to wecansolveit.org and join us.
Together we can Repower America.
Together we can solve the climate crisis.

Join **we** today.

In economic terms, staying fit now may be worth hundreds of thousands of dollars later

RIGHT ON YOUR MONEY, PAGE 74

Life

■ GOING GREEN ■ RIGHT ON YOUR MONEY



GOING GREEN

Eco-Buyer Beware.

Those "green" products often aren't

BY BRYAN WALSH

SCOT CASE WAS NOT HAPPY. VICE president of the environmental marketing firm TerraChoice, Case last year sent his researchers into a big-box retail store to evaluate the green advertising claims of some of the products on its shelves. The results were startling: of the 1,018 products TerraChoice surveyed, all but one failed to live up fully to their green boasts. Words like *non-toxic* were used in meaninglessly vague ways. Terms like *Energy Star certified* were in fact not backed up by certification.

"I went ballistic," Case says. "I assumed the researchers had butchered the study." He had his team redo the survey, but the results came back the same. "It just shows we're awash in greenwash."

Many consumers may not have heard the term *greenwashing*, but they've surely experienced it—misleading marketing about the environmental benefits of a



product. Greenwashing isn't new—ever since the environmental movement emerged as an issue in the early 1970s, there have been advertising firms trying to convince consumers that buying Brand X is the only way to save the earth. But as going green has become big business—sales of organic products alone went from \$10 billion in 2003 to more than \$20 billion in 2007—companies appear eager to associate themselves with the environment, deservedly or not.

If you're not yet sick of seeing whirling wind turbines and sun-dappled solar panels on TV, you will be: the new fall season is likely to feature a flood of green advertising. It's gotten so bad that the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has been holding hearings over the past year to define the difference between genuine environmental claims and empty greenwash. It's not easy—and environmental advocates worry that truly green companies could get lost in all the clamor.

"We have such a challenge ahead of us on climate change," says Kevin Tuerff, a co-founder of the marketing

TRUTH TESTS

Six Sins. Telling green from greenwashing

HIDDEN TRADE-OFF

Promotion of one aspect of a product as environmentally friendly while its negative impact is obscured

NO PROOF

Environmental claim that can't be easily verified

VAGUENESS

Assertion so amorphous that it's meaningless—like a "nontoxic" claim when anything could be toxic if misused

IRRELEVANCE

Claim that's technically true but unimportant for the planet

LESSER OF TWO EVILS

Claim that is narrowly true but ignores larger environmental problems—like "green SUVs"

FIBBING

Claim that is demonstrably untrue

consultancy EnviroMedia. "Greenwashing harms the effort we need to be making."

The first step to cleaning up greenwashing is to identify it, and Tuerff and his partners have hit on an innovative way to spotlight particularly egregious examples. They've launched the Greenwashing Index (www.greenwashingindex.com), a website that allows consumers to post ads that might be examples of greenwashing and rate them on a scale of 1 to 5—1 is a little green

lie; 5 is an outright falsehood.

It's a simple device, but it shows the power of the Internet to truth-squad misleading ads; with a simple Web search, any consumer can find out if a car manufacturer hyping its fuel-efficient hybrids actually earns the majority of its revenue selling gas-guzzling trucks and SUVs. "We try to make it a little more transparent with the index," says Kim Sheehan, a communications professor at the University of Oregon and a co-founder of

the site. "It teaches people to be a little more cautious about the claims they hear."

Googling isn't the only way to take out the greenwashing, however. The TerraChoice website (www.terrachoice.com) offers a list of what it calls the "six sins of greenwashing"—six simple signs that should tip off consumers to a company that is more interested in selling the earth than saving it. One is the sin of irrelevance, in which, for example, a product trumpets the fact that it is "chlorofluorocarbon free"—even though those ozone-destroying chemicals have been banned for years, meaning the company is asking for applause for just following the law. Another is the sin of the hidden trade-off—the paper towels that come from a sustainably harvested forest but are then shipped to global markets aboard CO₂-spewing trucks and planes.

Ultimately, says Case, "if you don't understand where a green claim comes from, check it out. There are a lot of companies trying to relieve people of the green in their wallet."

It's not just consumers in the U.S. who are getting fed up with greenwashing. The Advertising Standards Authority in Britain received 561 complaints about potentially false green ads last year, up from 117 the year before. Norway has banned all car ads from using the terms *green*, *environmentally friendly* and *clean* on the grounds that all cars contribute to global warming.

The laissez-faire U.S. isn't likely to go that far, but the FTC is in the process of updating its Green Guide for consumers, which hasn't changed since 1998. The hope is that eventually we'll be able to define *green* in advertising the way we've defined *low calorie* and *low fat*. That needs to happen soon, before green loses all meaning. "We have better green products but a lot of exaggerated claims," says Case. "That could be enough to capsize the whole green movement"—and that's not a little green lie. ■

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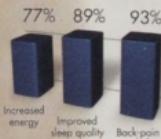
Don't let the pressure get to you.



Red areas reveal the pressure points created by an ordinary bed.



A Sleep Number bed adjusts to your body, relieving pressure points.



Traditional innerspring mattresses distribute weight unevenly, creating pressure points that can cause you to toss and turn. But a Sleep Number bed conforms to your body. It relieves pressure points so you'll fall asleep faster and wake up more refreshed.

Comfort that you control.

A Sleep Number bed is the only bed that lets you adjust your SLEEP NUMBER® setting to your ideal level of comfort. Pick a lower number for more softness, higher for firmer support. With settings from zero to 100, you can always find your perfect Sleep Number setting.



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Each Sleep Number bed comes with a risk-free 30-night in-home trial,[†] plus a 20-Year Limited Warranty, one of the longest in the industry. Our quality is not only built in, it's backed up.



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From Health to Wealth

Investing in healthy living now may add up to hundreds of thousands of dollars later in life



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MOST PEOPLE SAVE FOR retirement by focusing on their wealth. But you may accomplish more by focusing on your health. That's because the out-of-pocket costs for diseases that may be avoidable through diet and exercise can be staggering. Getting and staying fit now may be worth tens or even hundreds of thousands of dollars later—a sum that just might exceed the carefully crafted stockpile in your 401(k).

That's not to say that if you are fit you don't need a financial plan. "Good health has a high value in dollars," says Bruce Pyenson, an actuary at health consultants Milliman. "But it's not enough for you to

stop saving." He says your savings goal, if you are healthy, should be 10 times your final salary, and significantly more if you suffer a chronic health problem such as cardiovascular disease or diabetes.

How much savings is enough for chronic sufferers? That depends on the severity of the ailment and the level of coverage. But consider that Medicare spends four times as much on unhealthy people as it does on healthy ones; out-of-pocket costs from deductibles and co-pays are much higher too. If you have an uncovered, extended nursing-home stay, the cost of health care in retirement may surpass \$300,000.

QUIT NOW, SAVE LATER

Investing the money you would have spent on cigarettes from age 40 to 65 may net \$100,000, not counting what you save by avoiding disease

Such costs have given rise to a wellness industry that promotes healthy living now as a means of avoiding disease and expense later. The industry, which has exploded to \$2 billion in annual revenue from less than \$100 million a decade ago, promotes smoking cessation and stress-reduction programs, as well as healthy-diet and daily-exercise regimens such as stretching and moderate weight training. Even a cursory estimate shows how quickly a few health measures pay off.

Lose weight. Obesity is linked to diabetes, cardiovascular disease, cancer and more. Obese people spend a third more than fit people on health services and three-quarters more on medications,

according to Rand Health. The average annual out-of-pocket cost for diabetics is \$454, according to an analysis of government data conducted by Nationwide Better Health, a health-management company. But those costs skyrocket to \$12,000 or more for the 1 in 2 diabetics who do not carefully tend to their illness, says Nationwide. Bottom line: shed some pounds, avoid these diseases and invest the related windfall from, say, age 40 to

65—and you could pad your nest egg by up to \$700,000.

Stop smoking. Not buying cigarettes alone can add up to more than \$100,000 if you stop at age 40 and invest the difference conservatively until age 65. If you avoid emphysema and cancer, your savings multiply. The potential savings from medical treatments could add tens of thousands of dollars more to your nest egg.

Get moving. Exercise and diet are keys to avoiding high blood pressure and heart disease, which together have annual costs to the individual of \$606, according to Nationwide's analysis. Investing that sum for 25 years may provide more than \$35,000.

Such savings are not guaranteed. Even healthy people get sick, and living healthily usually means living longer, which layers on costs for other health woes you may encounter as you age. Still, the most important steps to retirement security may have more to do with what you give up (fatty foods, cigarettes and more than two alcoholic drinks a day) than with what you sock away. This is one situation in which less means much more.

An aerial photograph of a multi-lane highway during the day. The road is filled with various vehicles, including cars, SUVs, and trucks, all moving in the same direction. The perspective is from above, looking down the length of the highway.

It's time to pick a side.

People with a financial plan are happier in retirement than those without.*

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*Source: 2006 New Retirement Mindscape® study conducted by Ameriprise Financial in conjunction with Age Wave and Harris Interactive.

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Brush Up on These Health Basics

New knowledge about your teeth and gums plus some familiar advice will help you look and feel your best

BY JAMES M. CHRISTIAN, D.D.S., M.B.A.

Most people are surprised about the close connection between a healthy mouth and healthy body. Here are some examples of the connections:

- Stress clearly worsens oral health and is associated with an increased susceptibility to infections, including gum inflammation. More research is needed to tease out the exact mechanism, but researchers believe that the stress hormone cortisol may play a role.
- The decreased production of hormones associated with menopause can be related to the vexing problem of burning mouth syndrome, where the tongue, roof of the mouth or gums feel as if they're on fire. Burning mouth can also be caused by fungal infections or side effects of medications, such as those for high blood pressure. Treatment, of course, depends on the cause.
- Increasing evidence points to a relationship between the advanced form of gum disease, known as periodontitis, and the buildup of artery-clogging plaque that causes heart attacks. Right now we don't know the exact nature of this relationship, but treating periodontal disease improves oral health, and that will benefit your overall health. All the more reason to reach for your toothbrush twice a day.
- You're more likely to develop gum disease if you have diabetes, which reduces the body's resistance to infection.
- Osteoporosis can worsen the loss of bone caused by gum disease. If your dentist suggests treatment, don't put it off.

Talk to your dentist

Be sure to let your dentist know about any medications you're taking, either prescription or over the counter. Don't



Did You Know?

- If you want healthy gums, add cheese, milk and yogurt to your daily diet.
- Older adults benefit even more significantly from fluoridated water than children.



forget to mention herbal supplements and vitamins as well. Patients often ask me why I want to know, thinking that inhalers for asthma or drugs to lower blood pressure don't affect the mouth. But any medication can affect oral health, so don't keep it a secret.

Keep your mouth healthy

A healthy mouth discourages the development of plaque, a sticky bacterial film that forms around teeth. The bacteria feast off the food you eat and convert sugars and starches into acids that dissolve enamel. They also produce toxins that inflame the gums and cause them to pull away from the teeth, providing a convenient welcome mat for bacteria to enter the bloodstream.

The most important step you can take to control plaque is the one you've heard about since you were a child: Brush at least twice a day and floss at least once.

Brushing and flossing won't rid the mouth of bacteria, but will prevent the forming of plaque. Brushing acts on the bacteria the bristles reach, and flossing gets bacteria hidden between your teeth and under the gum line.

Ask your dentist or dental hygienist to go over your brushing and flossing technique next time you're there if you haven't had it checked recently.

Dr. Christian, an oral and maxillofacial surgeon, is director of the Division of Dentistry and Oral Surgery at The Johns Hopkins Hospital.

— stroke

serious gum disease

— heart disease

— diabetes

Is there a connection between the health of your mouth and the health of your body?

A growing body of evidence suggests that maintaining healthy teeth and gums is important not only to the health of your mouth, but may be important to your overall health.

Colgate Total has a unique, patented formula that creates a protective barrier that fights germs for a full 12 hours. That helps to prevent and reduce gum inflammation from gingivitis, a mild form of gum disease, which if left unchecked may lead to serious

gum disease. Emerging scientific research is associating serious gum disease with other diseases like heart disease, diabetes and stroke.

Learn more about the health of your mouth and the health of your body. Visit ColgateTotal.com.



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"The ADA Council on Scientific Affairs' Acceptance of **Colgate Total** toothpaste is based on its finding that the product is effective in helping to prevent and reduce tooth decay, gingivitis and plaque above the gum line and bad breath, when used as directed."

Colgate Total is approved for the prevention of gingivitis. Not approved for the prevention or treatment of serious gum disease or other diseases. Ask your dental or medical professional about the emerging research on the mouth-body association. © 2007 Colgate-Palmolive Co.

Prince enjoyed
delicious Quaker
Oatmeal every day for
30 days and his
cholesterol went down.
Coincidence? Nope.
That's his proof.
And it's backed by 25
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from Quaker. So as
part of a heart healthy
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helped Prince drop...

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"I'm living proof it works."

Prince Wheeler
Riverdale, IL

9

cholesterol
points

3 grams of soluble fiber daily from oatmeal, in a diet low in saturated fat and cholesterol, may reduce the risk of heart disease. Quaker Old Fashioned Oats provide 2g per serving. Quaker Instant Oatmeal and Quaker Oatmeal Squares provide 1g per serving. Your results may vary.



every day
should be this good



QuakerLivingProof.com

The Care and Feeding of Your Heart

A little help from you can keep it beating at its best

BY PAMELA OUYANG, M.B., B.S.

You can do a great deal on your own to prevent heart disease from developing—and it's never too late to start. You don't need a lot of equipment or time, but you do have to be willing to make some changes and believe that you're worth the effort.

How much does exercise help your heart?

Women who exercise more have fewer heart attacks but they're often healthier to start with, so it's hard to tell whether exercise itself reduces risk.

To find the answer we need a study where women commit to and maintain a certain level of exercise over the long haul—and that's not easy to do. So instead we look at whether exercise changes factors known to increase the risk of heart disease. For example, we know that physical activity brings down blood pressure and helps to keep arteries relaxed and supple, reduces cholesterol and helps people who are overweight lose extra pounds. Since exercise improves these factors, it is likely that exercise itself is important in decreasing heart disease.

You don't have to join a gym to benefit. Half an hour of moderately intense physical activity, such as brisk walking, on most days of the week will do it. Add extra time if you want to lose weight.

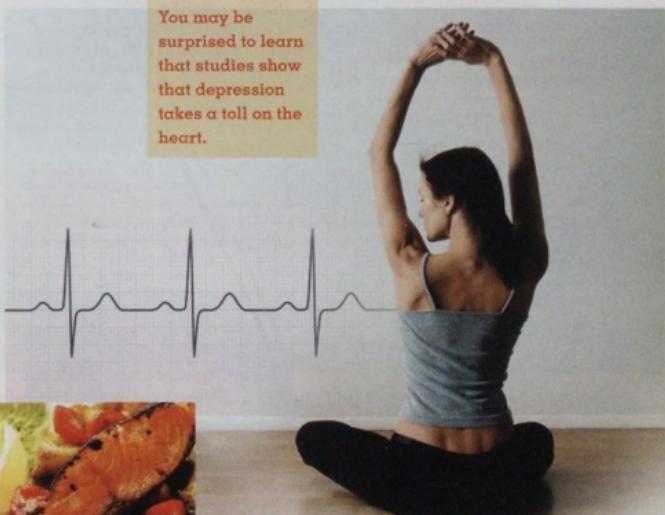
What kind of low-fat?

Low-fat diets have been heralded for years now, but the actual point is low-*certain-kinds-of-fat*.

Use polyunsaturated and monounsaturated fat (the kind in liquid vegetable oils, nuts and seeds); these fats may actually improve cholesterol levels.

Keep the lid on saturated fats (the kind in meat, poultry, dairy products such as whole milk, and tropical fats such as palm oil) and on trans fat

You may be surprised to learn that studies show that depression takes a toll on the heart.



(called partially hydrogenated oil on food labels). Saturated fat increases LDL cholesterol. Trans fat increases LDL cholesterol, raises triglycerides and lowers HDL cholesterol—not a good thing.

Stock your refrigerator and pantry with low-fat dairy products, fruits, vegetables and whole grain breads and cereals. That way, when you reach for something you won't have to calculate calories or fat grams because you've got only good-for-you food available.

It's hard to define stress

There's no clear definition of stress, although everyone knows what it

feels like. Instead, researchers study depression and anxiety, both of which may be a response to stress.

Depression has been the best studied. Studies show that it certainly takes a toll on the heart. Anxiety has been less studied but may also play a role in heart disease in women.

In any case, if you're feeling emotionally under par, talk to your doctor.

You might also:

- Take a yoga class to relax
- Become more physically active
- Call on friends and family for support

Dr. Ouyang is professor of medicine and a deputy director of the Institute for Clinical and Translational Research at The Johns Hopkins University and a cardiologist at Johns Hopkins Bayview Medical Center.

The News About Sleep

The fascinating world of sleep is giving up its secrets

BY CHARLENE GAMALDO, M.D.

We've always known that sleep's a good thing and now we know some of the reasons that's so.

Sleep plays a role in learning

We used to think that sleep was a passive process that left us rested enough to learn while we were awake. We now know that every stage of sleep plays a vital role in the process of learning.

In the lighter stages of sleep, the brain takes new information that was placed in temporary storage, shifts

provide some of the same benefits. As a sleep doctor, I'm a great fan of napping as long as it doesn't affect your ability to fall asleep at night.

For most people, there's a natural biologic dip in alertness between 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. It's not just your imagination and it's not simply because you had a high-carb lunch. If you can find the time, I would recommend a 20- to 40-minute nap. Try not to let it go longer than that because you'll probably wake up feeling groggy and overtired.

For most people, there's a natural biological dip in alertness between 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. ... I would recommend a 20- to 40-minute nap.



it to a holding area and then, in the deeper stages of sleep, moves it to more permanent storage. During deep sleep and rapid eye movement sleep, or dream sleep, the information is embedded in memory.

Naps are important

At one time researchers surmised that napping provided no benefits for learning and memory because the sleeper didn't enter the deeper stages of sleep. In fact, we now know that naps can

Sleep apnea hits women also

Most of the research on sleep apnea has involved men, so the commonly cited symptoms of excessive snoring during the night and daytime sleepiness may often not hold for women. Women with sleep apnea are more likely to complain of difficulty falling sleep or staying asleep than their male counterparts with sleep apnea. As a result, these women are frequently misdiagnosed and their sleep

Over the last decade the average adult has given up half an hour of sleep a night.

complaints often blamed on anxiety or insomnia. Once a woman reaches menopause her risk of developing sleep apnea approaches that of men.

If you experience insomnia-like symptoms, feel irritable during the day and have trouble concentrating, see a sleep specialist for an evaluation. Sleep apnea can be successfully treated.

Adults don't get enough sleep

Over the last decade the average adult has given up half an hour of sleep a night. This lost sleep leaves many people feeling sleepy most of the time. Obvious but true.

How do you know if you're sleeping enough? You should be able to awaken in the morning without an alarm clock and feel rested, restored and eager to start the day. You shouldn't feel cranky or have trouble thinking of the right word or completing cognitive tasks such as simple math calculations.

If you need to catch up on sleep on the weekends, your body is telling you you're not getting enough during the week. To some degree you can make up sleep with extra weekend zzz's, but we don't know if the quality is the same.

Sleep affects pain perception

Clearly, pain can affect your ability to get to sleep. But new research shows that the converse is also true: If you don't get enough sleep, your system becomes hyperaroused and you're less able to tolerate both physical and emotional pain.

Each day we learn more about sleep and realize that it's not a passive condition but an active state that can help us be more effective as we navigate through life.

Dr. Gamaldo is assistant director of the Johns Hopkins Hospital Sleep Disorder Center and assistant professor of neurology and pulmonary/critical care at Johns Hopkins School of Medicine.

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AMBIEN CR is the only form of Ambien that is FDA approved to help you fall asleep and stay asleep:



The first layer dissolves quickly to help you fall asleep fast, while the second dissolves slowly to help you stay asleep.* So you wake up less frequently and fall back to sleep faster.

For people who have trouble falling asleep and/or staying asleep, only AMBIEN CR has two layers that address both problems: The first layer dissolves quickly to help you fall asleep fast, while the second dissolves slowly to help you stay asleep, so you can wake up ready for your day.** AMBIEN CR can be taken for as long as your healthcare provider recommends. Ask your prescriber if AMBIEN CR is right for you.

There is no generic form of AMBIEN CR, so ask your prescriber or pharmacist for AMBIEN CR by name.

* Proven effective for up to 7 hours in clinical studies.

** Individual results may vary.

For special offers and a 7-Night free trial of **AMBIEN CR** visit: ambienCR.com/deals or call 1.877.827.1767.

AMBIEN CR is indicated to help you fall asleep and/or stay asleep.

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

AMBIEN CR is a treatment option you and your doctor can consider along with lifestyle changes and can be taken for as long as your doctor recommends. Until you know how AMBIEN CR will affect you, you shouldn't drive or operate machinery. Be sure you're able to devote 7 to 8 hours to sleep before being active again. Sleepwalking, and eating or driving while not fully awake, with amnesia for the event have been reported. If you experience any of these behaviors contact your provider immediately. In rare cases sleep aids may cause allergic reactions such as swelling of your tongue or throat or shortness of breath or more severe results. If you have an allergic reaction while using AMBIEN CR, contact your doctor immediately. Side effects may include next-day drowsiness, dizziness and headache. It's non-habit-forming; however,

like most sleep medicines it has some risk of dependency. Don't take it with alcohol.

AMBIEN is indicated for short-term treatment to help you fall asleep.

IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION

When you first start taking AMBIEN, use caution in the morning when engaging in activities requiring complete alertness until you know how you will react to this medication. In most instances, memory problems can be avoided if you take AMBIEN only when you are able to get a full night's sleep (7 to 8 hours) before you need to be active again. As with any sleep medication, do not use alcohol while you are taking AMBIEN. Sleepwalking, and eating or driving while not fully awake, with amnesia for the event, have been reported. If you experience any of these behaviors contact your provider immediately. In rare cases, sleep medicines may cause allergic reactions such as swelling of your tongue or throat, shortness of breath or more severe

results. If you have an allergic reaction while using AMBIEN, contact your doctor immediately. Prescription sleep aids are often taken for 7 to 10 days – or longer as advised by your provider. Like most sleep medicines, it has some risk of dependency. There is a low occurrence of side effects associated with the short-term use of AMBIEN. The most commonly observed side effects in controlled clinical trials were drowsiness (2%), dizziness (1%), and diarrhea (1%).

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch or 1-800-FDA-1088

AMBIEN CR
ZOLPIDEM TARTRATE EXTD-REL RELEASE C
6.25 AND 12.5 MG EXTENDED RELEASE TABLETS

A GOOD NIGHT'S SLEEP FROM START TO FINISH.™

MEDICATION GUIDE

AMBIEN CR® (ān'bē-ən see ahr) C-IV (zolpidem tartrate extended-release tablets)

Read the Medication Guide that comes with AMBIEN CR before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking to your doctor about your medical condition or treatment.

What is the most important information I should know about AMBIEN CR?

After taking AMBIEN CR, you may get up out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing. The next morning, you may not remember that you did anything during the night. You have a higher chance for doing these activities if you drink alcohol or take other medicines that make you sleepy with AMBIEN CR. Reported activities include:

- driving a car ("sleep-driving")
- making and eating food
- talking on the phone
- having sex
- sleep-walking

Call your doctor right away if you find out that you have done any of the above activities after taking AMBIEN CR.

Important:

1. Take AMBIEN CR exactly as prescribed

- Do not take more AMBIEN CR than prescribed.
- Take AMBIEN CR right before you get in bed, not sooner.

2. Do not take AMBIEN CR if you:

- drink alcohol
- take other medicines that can make you sleepy. Talk to your doctor about all of your medicines. Your doctor will tell you if you can take AMBIEN CR with your other medicines.
- cannot get a full night's sleep

What is AMBIEN CR?

AMBIEN CR is a sedative-hypnotic (sleep) medicine. AMBIEN CR is used in adults for the treatment of a sleep problem called insomnia. Symptoms of insomnia include:

- trouble falling asleep
- waking up often during the night

AMBIEN CR is not for children.

AMBIEN CR is a federally controlled substance (C-IV) because it can be abused or lead to dependence. Keep AMBIEN CR in a safe place to prevent misuse and abuse. Selling or giving away AMBIEN CR may harm others, and is against the law. Tell your doctor if you have ever abused or have been dependent on alcohol, prescription medicines or street drugs.

Who should not take AMBIEN CR?

Do not take AMBIEN CR if you are allergic to anything in it. See the end of this Medication Guide for a complete list of ingredients in AMBIEN CR.

AMBIEN CR may not be right for you. Before starting AMBIEN CR, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have a history of depression, mental illness, or suicidal thoughts
- have a history of drug or alcohol abuse or addiction
- have kidney or liver disease
- have a lung disease or breathing problems
- are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding

Tell your doctor about all of the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Medicines can interact with each other, sometimes causing serious side effects. **Do not take AMBIEN CR with other medicines that can make you sleepy.**

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How should I take AMBIEN CR?

- Take AMBIEN CR exactly as prescribed. Do not take more AMBIEN CR than prescribed for you.

• Take AMBIEN CR right before you get into bed.

- **Do not take AMBIEN CR unless you are able to stay in bed a full night (7-8 hours) before you must be active again.**

- Swallow AMBIEN CR Tablets whole. Do not chew or break the tablets. Tell your doctor if you cannot swallow tablets whole.

- For faster sleep onset, AMBIEN CR should NOT be taken with or immediately after a meal.
- Call your doctor if your insomnia worsens or is not better within 7 to 10 days. This may mean that there is another condition causing your sleep problems.
- If you take too much AMBIEN CR or overdose, call your doctor or poison control center right away, or get emergency treatment.

What are the possible side effects of AMBIEN CR?

Serious side effects of AMBIEN CR include:

- **getting out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing.** (See "What is the most important information I should know about AMBIEN CR?")
- **abnormal thoughts and behavior.** Symptoms include more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal, confusion, agitation, hallucinations, worsening of depression, and suicidal thoughts or actions.
- **memory loss**
- **anxiety**
- **severe allergic reactions.** Symptoms include swelling of the tongue or throat, trouble breathing, and nausea and vomiting. Get emergency medical help if you get these symptoms after taking AMBIEN CR.

Call your doctor right away if you have any of the above side effects or any other side effects that worry you while using AMBIEN CR.

The most common side effects of AMBIEN CR are:

- headache
- sleepiness
- dizziness
- You may still feel drowsy the next day after taking AMBIEN CR. **Do not drive or do other dangerous activities after taking AMBIEN CR until you feel fully awake.**

After you stop taking a sleep medicine, you may have symptoms for 1 to 2 days such as: trouble sleeping, nausea, flushing, lightheadedness, uncontrolled crying, vomiting, stomach cramps, panic attack, nervousness, and stomach area pain.

These are not all the side effects of AMBIEN CR. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store AMBIEN CR?

- Store AMBIEN CR at room temperature, 59° to 77°F (15° to 25°C).
- **Keep AMBIEN CR and all medicines out of reach of children.**

General Information about AMBIEN CR

- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide.
- Do not use AMBIEN CR for a condition for which it was not prescribed.
- Do not share AMBIEN CR with other people, even if you think they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them and it is against the law.

This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about AMBIEN CR. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about AMBIEN CR that is written for healthcare professionals. For more information about AMBIEN CR, call 1-800-633-1610 or visit www.ambiencr.com.

What are the ingredients in AMBIEN CR?

Active Ingredient:

Zolpidem tartrate

Inactive Ingredients: The 6.25 mg tablets contain: colloidal silicon dioxide, hypromellose, lactose monohydrate, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, polyethylene glycol, potassium bitartrate, red ferric oxide, sodium starch glycolate, and titanium dioxide. The 12.5 mg tablets contain: colloidal silicon dioxide, FD&C Blue #2, hypromellose, lactose monohydrate, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, polyethylene glycol, potassium bitartrate, sodium starch glycolate, titanium dioxide, and yellow ferric oxide.

Rx Only

This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

sanofi-aventis U.S. LLC
Bridgewater, NJ 08807

January 2008a

AMBCR-JAN08a-M-A

MEDICATION GUIDE
AMBIEN® (am'bē-an) Tablets C-IV
(*zolpidem tartrate*)

Read the Medication Guide that comes with AMBIEN before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking to your doctor about your medical condition or treatment.

What is the most important information I should know about AMBIEN?

After taking AMBIEN, you may get up out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing. The next morning, you may not remember that you did anything during the night. You have a higher chance for doing these activities if you drink alcohol or take other medicines that make you sleepy with AMBIEN. Reported activities include:

- driving a car ("sleep-driving")
- making and eating food
- talking on the phone
- having sex
- sleep-walking

Call your doctor right away if you find out that you have done any of the above activities after taking AMBIEN.

Important:

1. Take AMBIEN exactly as prescribed

- Do not take more AMBIEN than prescribed.
- Take AMBIEN right before you get in bed, not sooner.

2. Do not take AMBIEN if you:

- drink alcohol
- take other medicines that can make you sleepy. Talk to your doctor about all of your medicines. Your doctor will tell you if you can take AMBIEN with your other medicines.
- cannot get a full night's sleep

What is AMBIEN?

AMBIEN is a sedative-hypnotic (sleep) medicine. AMBIEN is used in adults for the short-term treatment of a sleep problem called insomnia. Symptoms of insomnia include:

- trouble falling asleep

AMBIEN is not for children.

AMBIEN is a federally controlled substance (C-IV) because it can be abused or lead to dependence. Keep AMBIEN in a safe place to prevent misuse and abuse. Selling or giving away AMBIEN may harm others, and is against the law. Tell your doctor if you have ever abused or have been dependent on alcohol, prescription medicines or street drugs.

Who should not take AMBIEN?

Do not take AMBIEN if you are allergic to anything in it.

See the end of this Medication Guide for a complete list of ingredients in AMBIEN.

AMBIEN may not be right for you. Before starting AMBIEN, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have a history of depression, mental illness, or suicidal thoughts
- have a history of drug or alcohol abuse or addiction
- have kidney or liver disease
- have a lung disease or breathing problems
- are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding

Tell your doctor about all of the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Medicines can interact with each other, sometimes causing serious side effects. **Do not take AMBIEN with other medicines that can make you sleepy.**

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How should I take AMBIEN?

- Take AMBIEN exactly as prescribed. Do not take more AMBIEN than prescribed for you.
- **Take AMBIEN right before you get into bed.**

- **Do not take AMBIEN unless you are able to stay in bed a full night (7-8 hours) before you must be active again.**
- For faster sleep onset, AMBIEN should NOT be taken with or immediately after a meal.
- Call your doctor if your insomnia worsens or is not better within 7 to 10 days. This may mean that there is another condition causing your sleep problem.
- If you take too much AMBIEN or overdose, call your doctor or poison control center right away, or get emergency treatment.

What are the possible side effects of AMBIEN?

Serious side effects of AMBIEN include:

- **getting out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing.** (See "What is the most important information I should know about AMBIEN?")
- **abnormal thoughts and behavior.** Symptoms include more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal, confusion, agitation, hallucinations, worsening of depression, and suicidal thoughts or actions.

- **memory loss**

- **anxiety**

- **severe allergic reactions.** Symptoms include swelling of the tongue or throat, trouble breathing, and nausea and vomiting. Get emergency medical help if you get these symptoms after taking AMBIEN.

Call your doctor right away if you have any of the above side effects or any other side effects that worry you while using AMBIEN.

The most common side effects of AMBIEN are:

- drowsiness
- dizziness
- diarrhea
- "drugged feelings"
- You may still feel drowsy the next day after taking AMBIEN. **Do not drive or do other dangerous activities after taking AMBIEN until you feel fully awake.**

After you stop taking a sleep medicine, you may have symptoms for 1 to 2 days such as: trouble sleeping, nausea, flushing, lightheadedness, uncontrolled crying, vomiting, stomach cramps, panic attack, nervousness, and stomach area pain.

These are not all the side effects of AMBIEN. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store AMBIEN?

- Store AMBIEN at room temperature, 68° to 77°F (20° to 25°C).
- **Keep AMBIEN and all medicines out of reach of children.**

General Information about AMBIEN

- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide.
- Do not use AMBIEN for a condition for which it was not prescribed.
- Do not share AMBIEN with other people, even if you think they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them and it is against the law.

This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about AMBIEN. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about AMBIEN that is written for healthcare professionals. For more information about AMBIEN, call 1-800-633-1610.

What are the ingredients in AMBIEN?

Active Ingredient: Zolpidem tartrate

Inactive Ingredients: hydroxypropyl methylcellulose, lactose, magnesium stearate, micro-crystalline cellulose, polyethylene glycol, sodium starch glycolate, and titanium dioxide. In addition, the 5 mg tablet contains FD&C Red No. 40, iron oxide colorant, and polysorbate 80.

Rx Only

This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

sanofi-aventis U.S. LLC
Bridgewater, NJ 08807

June 2008

AMB-JUNE08-M-Aa

Gaining Control

Overactive bladder affects one out of five women

BY E. JAMES WRIGHT, M.D.

Unfortunately, many women with overactive bladder miss out on effective solutions because they're reluctant to seek help. For overactive bladder, generally defined as voiding more than 8 to 10 times in 24 hours or leaking urine spontaneously, I recommend a "ladder of care."

Learn about the problem

The first rung is education, explaining how the bladder should normally work. Essentially I dispel some of the myths that many women grow up with. Some were told they should always hold in their urine; others they should never hold it in; they should drink less, or drink more in order to flush the kidneys. There's not a bit of science in any of it. So I tell them to forget everything they learned from their grandmother and then explain how it's really supposed to work. Part of the cure is built into that explanation; some 10 to 15 percent of the women I see need nothing more once they understand the intricate connections between the brain, spinal cord and bladder that control urination. Some women need only a week to fix the problem.

Combining exercise with medication

If education doesn't do the trick, the next step is to try out pelvic floor retraining, including Kegel's exercises. These exercises help coordinate reflexes in the pelvis that control urination. In a sense it's like learning a new sport—the more you practice the better you become.

Eventually the system between the bladder and brain gets rewired.

I find it more effective to combine Kegel's exercises with medications that relax the bladder muscles. There are now six agents in the class of drugs that treat this condition, so if one doesn't

Overactive bladder is generally defined as voiding more than 8 to 10 times in 24 hours or leaking urine spontaneously.

work it's probably worth trying one or two others because the benefit and side effect profile can sometimes differ from woman to woman. We can usually tell if this combination will work within six months. If it doesn't, we go on to a therapy called neuromodulation.

A pacemaker for the bladder

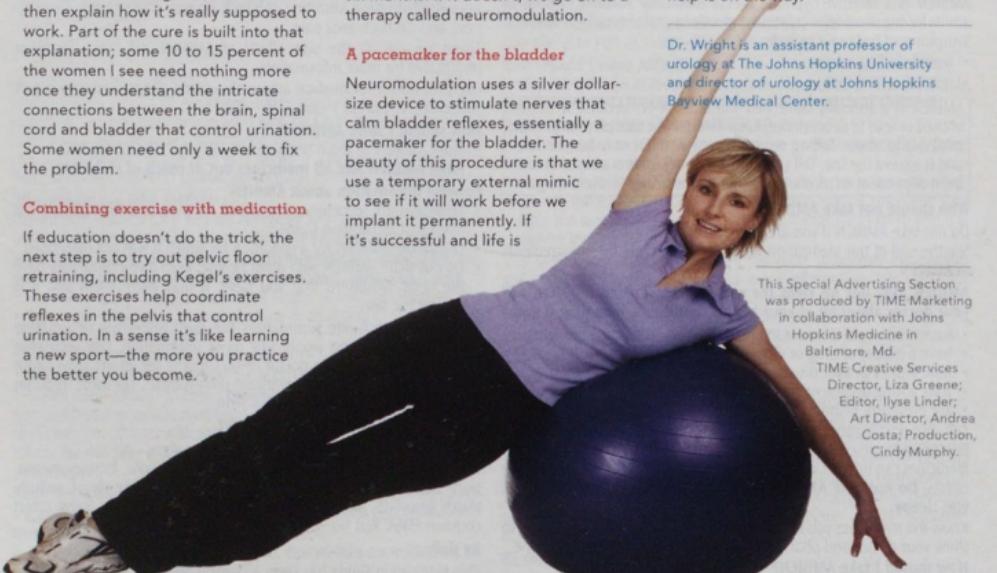
Neuromodulation uses a silver dollar-size device to stimulate nerves that calm bladder reflexes, essentially a pacemaker for the bladder. The beauty of this procedure is that we use a temporary external mimic to see if it will work before we implant it permanently. If it's successful and life is

much better when the woman wears it, she's eligible to have the real device implanted. The success rate is between 60 and 80 percent.

If it doesn't work, a woman may opt to try injections of Botox into the lining of the bladder. The technique has been tried in Europe and results have been positive, but it's not been approved by the FDA, insurance usually doesn't cover it and it's expensive. Some of the research has been promising, but these injections aren't yet the standard of care.

We don't have the answer yet for everyone, but we do have a solution for about 70 percent of women. If you're among the other 30 percent, don't despair. You may be told to bear up and live with it until the technology catches up. Rest assured, it will. There's a lot of research going on and help is on the way.

Dr. Wright is an assistant professor of urology at The Johns Hopkins University and director of urology at Johns Hopkins Bayview Medical Center.



This Special Advertising Section was produced by TIME Marketing in collaboration with Johns Hopkins Medicine in Baltimore, Md.

TIME Creative Services
Director, Liza Greene;
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fewer urges and leaks

Want fewer urges and leaks in your internal plumbing?
VESIcare can make a difference.

When your bladder muscle is overactive, it can cause those frustrating urges, so you worry your pipes might leak. This can sometimes get in the way of what you love to do. So it's harder to always do things spur of the moment. VESIcare, once a day, helps control your bladder muscle, so it can reduce urges and leaks, day and night. If you've had enough, talk to your doctor again about taking care with VESIcare.

Important Safety Information

VESIcare is for urgency, frequency, and leakage (overactive bladder). VESIcare is not for everyone. If you have certain stomach or glaucoma problems, or trouble emptying your bladder, do not take VESIcare. Tell your doctor right away if you have a serious allergic reaction, severe abdominal pain, or become constipated for three or more days. VESIcare may cause blurred vision, so take care while driving or doing unsafe tasks until you know how VESIcare affects you.

Common side effects are dry mouth, constipation, and indigestion.

Call (800) 403-6565 or visit
vesicare.com and you'll receive:

- Information about overactive bladder
- \$25 savings check*
- Talk to your doctor guide

Take care with
VESIcare®
(solifenacine succinate)
tablets

Please see important product information on the following page.

*Subject to eligibility. Restrictions may apply.

Patient Information
VESicare® (MESNA-hcne)
Biosimilars subsection



Please read the patient information that comes with VESicare before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This leaflet does not take the place of talking with your doctor or other healthcare professional about your condition or treatment. Only your doctor or healthcare professional can determine if treatment with VESicare is right for you.

What is VESicare?

VESicare is a prescription medicine used in adults to treat the following symptoms associated with a condition called overactive bladder:

- Having to go to the bathroom too often, also called "urinary frequency";
- Having a strong need to go to the bathroom right away, also called "urgency";
- Leaking or wetting accidents, also called "urinary incontinence".

VESicare has not been studied in children.

What is overactive bladder?

Overactive bladder occurs when you cannot control your bladder contractions. When these muscle contractions happen too often or cannot be controlled, you can get symptoms of overactive bladder, which are urinary frequency, urinary urgency, and urinary incontinence (leakage).

Who should take VESicare?

Do not take VESicare if you:

- are allergic to VESicare or any of its ingredients;
- have delayed or slow emptying of your stomach (also called "gastric retention");
- have an eye problem called "uncontrolled narrow-angle glaucoma";
- are allergic to any of the ingredients of VESicare. See the end of this leaflet for a complete list of ingredients.

What should I tell my doctor before starting VESicare?

Before starting VESicare tell your doctor or healthcare professional about all of your medical conditions including if you:

- have any stomach or intestinal problems or problems with constipation;
- have trouble emptying your bladder or you have a weak urine stream;
- have an eye problem called narrow-angle glaucoma;
- have liver problems;
- have kidney problems;
- are pregnant or trying to become pregnant (it is not known if VESicare can harm an unborn baby);
- are breastfeeding (it is not known if VESicare passes into breast milk and it can harm your baby). You should decide whether to breastfeed or take VESicare, but not both.

Before starting on VESicare, tell your doctor about all the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. While taking VESicare, tell your doctor about all the medicines you take including prescription medicines you are taking including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. VESicare and other medicines may affect each other.

How should I take VESicare?

Take VESicare exactly as prescribed. Your doctor will prescribe the dose and the right time for you to take VESicare. Start with the lowest dose if you have ever had medical conditions such as liver or kidney problems.

You should take one VESicare tablet once a day.

You should take VESicare with liquid and swallow the tablet whole.

You can take VESicare at any time of day.

If you take a dose of VESicare, begin taking VESicare again the next day. Do not take 2 doses of VESicare in the same day.

If you take too much VESicare or overdose, call your local Poison Control Center or emergency room right away.

What are the possible side effects with VESicare?

The most common side effects with VESicare are:

- blurred vision. Use caution while driving or doing dangerous activities until you know how VESicare affects you.
- dry mouth.

constipation. Call your doctor if you get severe stomach area (abdominal) pain or become constipated for 3 or more days.

heat prostration. Heat prostration (due to decreased sweating) can occur when drugs such as VESicare are used in a hot environment.

Tell your doctor if you have any side effects that bother you or that do not go away.

These are not all the side effects with VESicare. For more information, ask your doctor, healthcare professional or pharmacist.

How should I store VESicare?

Keep VESicare and all other medications out of the reach of children. Store VESicare at room temperature, 50° to 86°F (15° to 30°C).

Keep the bottles closed.

Safely dispose of VESicare that is out of date or that you no longer need.

General information about VESicare*

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use VESicare for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give VESicare to other people, even if they have the same symptoms you have. It is not habit-forming.

This leaflet summarizes the most important information about VESicare. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor.

You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about VESicare that is written for health professionals. You can also call (800) 727-7003 toll free, or visit www.VESICARE.com.

What are the ingredients in VESicare?

Active ingredients: mesna succinate.

Inactive ingredients: crospovidone, corn starch, hypromellose 2910, magnesium stearate, talc, polyethylene glycol 8000 and sodium chloride with yellow ferric oxide (5 mg VESicare tablet) or ferric oxide (10 mg VESicare tablet).

Manufactured by:

Astellas Pharma Technologies Inc.
Norman, Oklahoma 73072

Marketed by:
Astellas Pharma U.S. Inc.
Deerfield, IL 60015-2548

Marketed and Distributed by:
GlaxoSmithKline
Research Triangle Park
North Carolina 27709



GlaxoSmithKline

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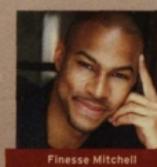
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Designer: George T. Morgan (initial on reverse neck & reverse left ribbon loop)

Diameter: 38.1 mm (approx. 1.5 in) • Weight: 26.73 g (.7734 oz. pure silver) • Composition: .900 silver, .100 copper • Edge: Reeded

Mint Distribution: Released in 1,000 coin canvas "duck" bags weighing 57 lbs.



Since the Morgan Silver Dollar first appeared in 1878, it has become the #1 most collected "classic" U.S. silver coin. Over the course of their entire production run, from 1878-1904, and once again in 1921, the Morgan Dollars were minted in five different cities housing U.S. Mint operations. Minted for general circulation, the Morgan Dollars were very popular during their time and remain so among collectors down through to today.

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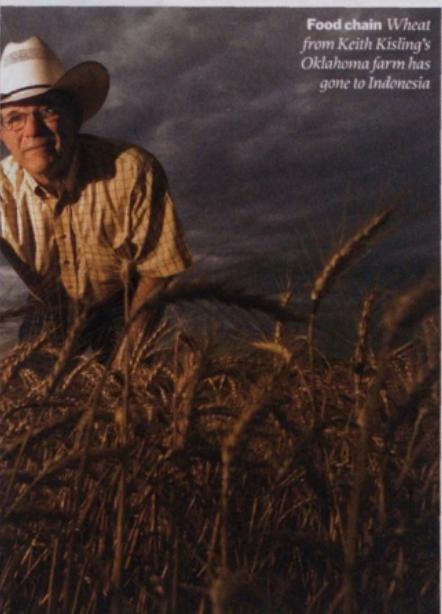
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Klean Kanteen's two factories in China also had to install more equipment
COELI CARR ON STAINLESS-STEEL BOTTLES

ess



Food chain Wheat from Keith Kisling's Oklahoma farm has gone to Indonesia

ia-based NGO hands out free
e businesses have to perform

Keith Kisling is also the main supplier of noodles produced (10 km) away in Indonesia. Noodles are in the world's unry, but they ards of almost ev. That wasn't the , when inflation fall of President

Suharto's 32-year military regime prompted food prices to soar, caused factories to fail and led unemployment to double.

To help alleviate the crisis, the U.S. shipped some 30,000 metric tons of wheat to the struggling nation in 1999—and continued to do so until 2005. But rather than simply handing over the wheat to produce the low-cost noodles, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) contracted with a fledgling nongovernmental organiza-

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**ART/MUSEUMS****THE MINNEAPOLIS
INSTITUTE OF ARTS**

Tues.-Sat., 10 a.m.-5 p.m.; Sun., 11 a.m.-5 p.m.; 2400 Third Ave. S; 612.870.3131; artsmia.org
Walk among some 8,000 objects in a classical monument. Autumn exhibitions include "Eero Saarinen: Shaping the Future" (Sept. 13-Jan. 4, 09); and "Robert Rauschenberg: Prints/Editions 1962-78" (Oct. 4-March 1, 09).

**ENTERTAINMENT****HENNEPIN THEATRE
DISTRICT**

Hennepin Ave., Downtown
hennepintheatredistrict.org
The Twin Cities' version of Broadway, the district boasts three historic theaters — the Pantages, State, or Orpheum — plus cafes, restaurants, and bars. Appearing at the Orpheum (910 Hennepin): the jam band My Morning Jacket (Oct. 2 at 8 p.m.) and comedian Kathy Griffin (Oct. 3 at 7 p.m.).

ORCHESTRA HALL

1111 Nicollet Mall; 612.371.5656;
minnesotaorchestra.org
Now in its 105th year, the Minnesota Orchestra goes eclectically classical this fall with "Sounds of the Sea: Vanska Conducts the Sea Symphony" (Sept. 26-27, 8 p.m.); "Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms" (Oct. 2 at 11 a.m., Oct. 3 & 4 at 8 p.m., Oct. 5 at 2 p.m.).

TARGET CENTER

600 First Ave. N; 612.673.1600;
targetcenter.com
This facility houses professional basketball games, concerts, and family shows. From Sept. 24-28, starting at 7:30 p.m., experience Cirque du Soleil, in "Saltimbanco." On Oct. 9, Tina Turner burns up the arena (7:30 p.m.).

**FOOD & WINE****THE RIVERFRONT DISTRICT**

612.673.5123;
minneapolis-riverfront.com

Although known for its popular wine bars and late-night dining at half a dozen or more restaurants, you'll also find museums, walking and biking paths, and a farmers' market every Saturday thru October next to the Mill City Museum (704 S Second St.).

THE WAREHOUSE DISTRICT

Boundaries: First Ave. N, Second St. & Washington Ave. N, Third Ave. N and Sixth; 612.334.3131;
mplswarehouse.com

"Cool clubs with hot music" is how this seven-block area downtown has been described. Sidewalk cafes mix easily with galleries, shops, and theaters, creating a relaxed atmosphere.

**SIGHTSEEING****HISTORIC WALKING TOURS**

Mill City Museum; 704 S. Second St.; 612.341.7555;
millcitymuseum.org

The Minneapolis Riverfront Walking Tour, which passes St. Anthony Falls, once the milling center of the world, starts on Saturdays at 11 a.m. and Sundays at 1 p.m.

**SPORTS****HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
METRODOME**

1330 Industrial Blvd.,
Downtown East; 612.331.1900;
hhhmetrodome.com

It is home to University of Minnesota football, Minnesota Twins baseball, and Minnesota Vikings football. Watch the Vikings tackle the Tennessee Titans on Sept. 28 and take on the New Orleans Saints on Oct. 6.

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Klean Kanteen's two factories in China also had to install more equipment

COELI CARR ON STAINLESS-STEEL BOTTLES

Global Business

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ■ SMALL BUSINESS



Food chain Wheat from Keith Kisling's Oklahoma farm has gone to Indonesia

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Teaching Them to Fish. A Virginia-based NGO hands out free wheat to poor countries, at a price: the businesses have to perform

BY ANITA HAMILTON

OF THE 4 MILLION METRIC TONS OF WHEAT that the U.S. donates to struggling countries each year, a few thousand bushels come from Keith and Marlene Kisling's farm in Burlington, Okla. The Kislings grow more than 3,000 acres (1,200 hectares) of hard red winter wheat, which is typically used in whole-wheat bread, cinnamon rolls and other doughy treats. "It's the best qual-

ity wheat in the world," says Keith Kisling.

The very same wheat is also the main ingredient in instant noodles produced nearly 10,000 miles (16,000 km) away in a factory in Central Java, Indonesia. Noodles aren't as important as rice in the world's fourth most populous country, but they can be found in the cupboards of almost every Indonesian household. That wasn't the case a decade ago, however, when inflation and rioting following the fall of President

Suharto's 32-year military regime prompted food prices to soar, caused factories to fail and led unemployment to double.

To help alleviate the crisis, the U.S. shipped some 30,000 metric tons of wheat to the struggling nation in 1999—and continued to do so until 2005. But rather than simply handing over the wheat to produce the low-cost noodles, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) contracted with a fledgling nongovernmental organiza-

tion called International Relief & Development (IRD) to create a pioneering food-aid program using a business model that has since become a template for projects in Cambodia, Niger and Sri Lanka.

Providing food aid has traditionally involved doling out portions to long lines of hungry people. And while that still makes sense in emergencies, IRD proposed that the most cost-effective and sustainable approach was to partner with and bolster existing businesses instead. "It's important for people not just to get handouts of food but to work. We showed you could do it," says Arthur Keys, 63, a minister in the United Church of Christ and former labor-union organizer who eventually started his own business advising nonprofits on how to obtain grants. He founded IRD in 1998.

Despite the agency's novice status, IRD's proposal won its first USDA contract, in part because it was the only group willing to go into Indonesia during such an unstable time. "IRD was very young, and in some ways we were taking a risk with them," notes Pat Sheikh, deputy administrator for the agency's Foreign Agricultural Service, which currently has contracts with 25 nongovernmental organizations, including Catholic Relief Services and the World Food Program. Says Keys: "We had enthusiasm. Even though we were new and small, we had key staff people who had worked in Indonesia and were known to USDA."

Tiga Pilar Sejahtera Food (TPS)—based in Solo, an industrial city about 300 miles (480 km) southeast of Jakarta with some 700,000 inhabitants—is one of the beneficiaries of the program. The noodle factory employs 3,500 and estimates its annual sales at \$50 million. One of the country's largest producers of rice vermicelli, egg noodles and wheat biscuits, TPS saw its production drop about 20% after the fall of Suharto as wheat prices doubled. TPS vice president Budhi Istanto, whose family started the business in 1959, credits IRD with helping the company "get back to its optimal capacity. We were not going to close, but we slowed production as the price of wheat rose and people were buying less."

IRD, based in Arlington, Va., had to run both the logistics of getting wheat to TPS's central Javanese factory and the program itself. That meant clearing customs in Jakarta, delivering the wheat to the mill-



Noodling around Some of the 3,500 workers at the Tiga Pilar Sejahtera factory in Solo, Indonesia

ers and then distributing the flour to the factories charged with producing the noodles. "Some factories did a better job than others," says Keys. Among the problems: some had no bags to package the noodles, while others simply failed to produce the agreed output.

To prevent fraud, IRD avoids paying cash up front for products and services. It also requires its for-profit partners to reinvest any proceeds derived from IRD wheat. Instead, the millers who process the wheat are reimbursed with a portion of the flour they make to sell at market rate. Factories get the flour free of cost but are required to

reinvest their proceeds into new production. IRD collects 66% of the profits, which it then uses for other programs in the country, including a water-treatment facility, snacks for school children and health services. IRD keeps 10% of all funding to cover its costs.

Quality control is its biggest challenge. On occasion, either the millers fail to produce the contracted grade of flour or some of the factories fail to pay IRD its share of profits. IRD tests batches each month and refuses anything that does not pass muster. If factories fail to pay on time, IRD sends bill collectors after them and threatens not to renew their contracts. "We put the fear of the Lord in them," says Peggy Sheehan, adviser to IRD president Keys. The USDA also sent inspectors to Indonesia to make sure its donations were being used as intended.

As an economic-development model, IRD has proved the concept. "We're satisfied," says the USDA's Sheikh. Since 1999, the program has produced more than 78,000 metric tons of fortified noodles for about 4 million low-income Indonesians. It has also produced hundreds of jobs in a country with 9.1% unemployment. "It was difficult to provide for my family before I took this job," says a TPS worker named Suparti, who uses only one name and has been working there for more than a decade. Although rising wheat prices have forced the company to increase prices 30% and the USDA's free-wheat program has shifted to nations with more pressing food shortages, for now TPS is back on solid financial ground.

So is IRD. It expects to distribute some \$600 million in aid in 2008, making it one of the largest NGOs in the world. Contracts with the U.S. Agency for International Development and funds from private donors are enabling it to build roads in Afghanistan and provide grants to small businesses in Iraq, among other projects.

Despite a career spent primarily in public service—IRD's founder's first job was with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union—Keys has never stopped thinking like an entrepreneur. "You have to have a business plan and invest wisely," he says. That's true whether you're a family farmer in Oklahoma or a nonprofit serving every corner of the globe. —WITH REPORTING BY JASON TEDJASUKMANA/SOLO

Instant Noodles

To see more of Kernal Juffri's photos of an Indonesian noodle factory, go to time.com/ird



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Staying afloat
The Cresswell family saw potential in Klean Kanteen

SMALL BUSINESS

Awash in Sales.

Stainless-steel water bottles were a nice niche—until sales exploded. The perils of popularity

BY COELI CARR

RUTH ELLIOTT ONCE THOUGHT NOTHING of carrying her drinking water in a Nalgene polycarbonate bottle, the plastic container that many bikers, hikers and babies use. But she began to notice more people in her Santa Cruz, Calif., neighborhood transporting their H₂O in sleek stainless-steel receptacles. Early this year she joined the growing cadre of metal toters when she plunked down \$25.95 for a 40-oz. (.12 L) stainless bottle. What swayed Elliott, 32, was Canada's decision in late 2007 to reassess a substance found in polycarbonate—bisphenol A (BPA), an estrogen mimicker linked to several medical conditions and diseases.

That the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) announced in a draft report on Aug. 15 that the trace amounts of BPA found in polycarbonate containers do not pose a threat to infants or adults mattered not a whit to Elliott, or to the many others who have heeded the advice of some experts

who disagree with the FDA. (Canada has announced it will ban the import and sale of polycarbonate baby bottles.)

The groundswell of demand has helped producers of stainless bottles experience a huge surge in sales, seemingly overnight. But the switch has also created its own set of management, environment and trade issues for the lucky manufacturers. One winner is Klean Kanteen, in Chico, Calif., which projects 2008 revenues of \$18 million, up from \$2.5 million in 2007 and less than \$1 million in 2006. Guyot Designs, in Deer Isle, Maine, another stainless-

'We recognized the potential of stainless steel's long life cycle and thought the bottle had really huge potential if marketed correctly.'

—JEFF CRESSWELL

bottle maker, also saw its business do a 180. Guyot projects revenues of \$5 million this year, 60% of that from stainless-bottle sales. In 2007, those bottles accounted for only \$60,000 of revenue.

Klean Kanteen anticipated the demand several years ago. In early 2004, small-business owners Darrel Cresswell and his children Jeff Cresswell and Michelle Kalberer became the order-fulfillment contractors for the inventor of a 27-oz. (.8 L) stainless bottle called Klean Kanteen. The more bottles the siblings shipped, the more buzz they heard. "We recognized the potential of stainless steel's long life cycle and thought the bottle had really huge potential if marketed correctly," says Jeff Cresswell. Eventually, the family became owners of the company.

Guyot Designs recently experienced its own dizzying trajectory. Established in 2002 to provide accessories for Nalgene bottles, Guyot—Josh Guyot is product designer and his wife Sloan Russell is president—debuted four stainless-bottle designs in 2005. "We were aware the market was changing," says Russell.

But not as fast as they thought. Initially, their bottles didn't sell, and the company dumped its stainless inventory at cost two weeks before Canada's BPA-related announcement late last year. When a large Canadian outdoor-product retailer pulled polycarbonate bottles off its shelves, Guyot got bombarded with "gigantic orders" and was left scrambling. "We made two trips to China to convince our factory—they thought we were crazy—to make more tools, and we still missed many deadlines," says Russell. Klean Kanteen's two factories in China also had to install more equipment. With weekly shipments averaging 50,000 bottles, the company is just now catching up with orders.

Some consumers find themselves in a quandary over environmental issues. While enthusiastic about stainless's recyclability, they're dismayed by China's manufacturing processes, which are not always the greenest. Guyot's Russell uses a third-party verification team to monitor its factory, and the company offsets all carbon emissions resulting from the production process.

Despite the controversies, as well as the FDA's most recent evaluation of BPA and the new BPA-free plastic bottles perched on retailers' shelves, the demand for stainless bottles has not abated. "A slight dip in sales" would be Cresswell's worst-case scenario. "The replacement for polycarbonate is still plastic, and there's a psychological reserve that plastic is bad," says Russell. Which makes the outlook for stainless appear shiny.

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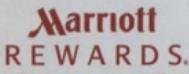
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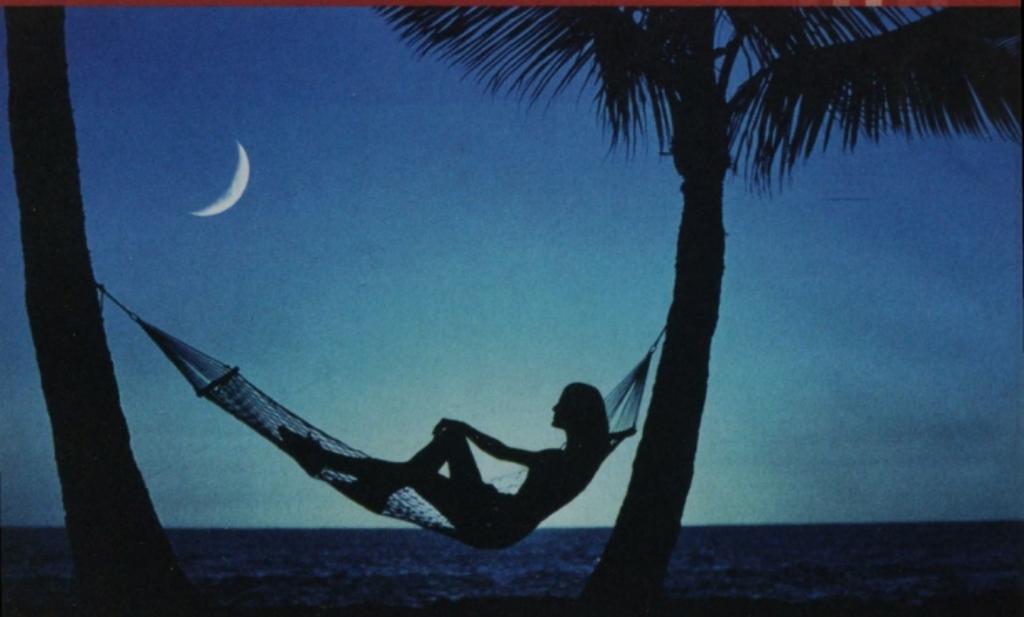
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Arts

MOVIES BOOKS MUSIC DOWNTIME

MOVIES

Renaissance Man. *Ghost*

Town star Ricky Gervais quotes Keats and cracks wise. What's not to love?



BY JOEL STEIN

BEFORE WE WALK INTO THE GALLERIES OF the Getty Museum, Ricky Gervais feels the need to lean against a railing overlooking the hills of Los Angeles and quote Keats' *When I Have Fears That I May Cease to Be*. At length. "I know what he means now," he says. "You hit an age and you realize, What is your legacy? And you don't want to waste your time on things that you're not proud of." Dude, I'm thinking, let's go make fun of paintings! But I can't stop him. I'm not asking questions, yet he starts telling me about the existential quality of his work. And about how money isn't important to him. This is not cool.

Luckily, it lasts only 10 minutes, and then we're inside, and Gervais proves to be the best person in the world to go to a museum with. He has a shocking knowledge of art history, gets swoony over tiny details

Still life with comedian Actor, director and funnyman Gervais in London

and moves at a reasonable pace, which is to say very quickly. And yes, he makes fun of paintings. The one where the Virgin Mary has her fingers outstretched? "She's talking 'bout the bloke she met last night," he says. He barely looks at a depiction of plump martyr St. Andrew as we pass. "That cross," Gervais says, "would never hold the weight." It is the first time I have spent two hours in a museum and wanted to stay longer.

Sure of His Awesomeness

STILL, I CAN'T SHAKE THOSE FIRST 10 MINUTES. The guy couldn't be nicer or humbler or easier to talk to, everything I hoped for as a fan. But how could the actor and writer who—first in *The Office*, then in *Extras*—mastered the cringe comedy of unaware arrogance have earnestly quoted Keats at me? This is a man who starts his latest stand-up comedy tour, to be aired on HBO on Nov. 15, by walking out in a cape and crown as giant letters spelling out his first name explode in the background. Could it be that Gervais takes the piss out of arrogance because there's so much of it in him? Because when you watch—and you must—the video of *More to Lose*, the early '80s from his very serious pop band Seona Dancing, in which Gervais stares moodily into the camera, his hair flapping like a flock of seagulls, you realize this is not a man unsure of his awesomeness.

That self-assurance is why he's been turning down movie roles ever since the second episode of *The Office*. He had no interest in starring in a film he didn't have complete creative control over. His new movie, *Ghost Town*—a small, hilarious romantic comedy about a dyspeptic dentist besieged by the dead to help them complete their unfinished business—opens Sept. 19 and marks the first time Gervais has taken a major role in a movie he didn't write and direct. "I was being a baby. I didn't like being away from home. I don't like not being in charge," he says. "I think I grew up a little bit."

Even so, being in charge retains its appeal. Gervais did *Ghost Town* in part to help prepare for shooting *This Side of the Truth*, an \$18 million film due out next year, co-starring Jennifer Garner, about a world in which he's the first person to lie. He financed it without a studio so he'd have control. And he's working on a movie with his writing partner on *The Office* and *Extras*, Stephen Merchant, called *The Man from the Pru*, about a group of twenty-something friends in 1970s England trying to escape from their poor, small town. It's what Gervais did, leaving Reading, England, to go to college and then play in a rock band, eventually getting a job at a radio station when he was 36.



Man in white In *Ghost Town*, Gervais is a haunted dentist; Greg Kinnear, a pesky spirit

Pushing the Discomfort Zone

NOW HE AND HIS GIRLFRIEND, WHOM HE met in college, live in London and have bought a second home on Manhattan's Upper East Side because it's close to the museums. At 47, he still has the impishness of someone who unexpectedly made it. When he spots a sign pointing upstairs to PAINTINGS, the L.A.-ness of it cracks him up. "Paintings! That's great. They have to be very specific. Like 'Things Made of Clay.' It's a bit like *This Side of the Truth*, where there's a sign that says CHEAP MOTEL FOR SEX WITH A NEAR STRANGER." On the *Ghost Town* set, he'd do 15 takes of a scene, trying out different runs; here he flits among the artworks, making great jokes, most of which I have to promise not to print since they're about religious paintings and he's an atheist who likes to offend without hurting box-office receipts. "It's more amazing to me that a man walked around and said that stuff," he says, looking at a painting of Jesus Christ. "There's nothing more amazing than human kindness. You don't have to say later, 'Oh, probably half-God.'"

That boyish awe, which even his most detestable characters possess, comes out increasingly as earnestness, from the

'For a cynic and a misanthrope, he's actually very sentimental.'

—DAVID KOEPF,
DIRECTOR OF *GHOST TOWN*

tear-jerking *Extras* finale to the touching moments in *Ghost Town*. In his stand-up, he starts with fat jokes, moves on to AIDS and then, when you're expecting rape for the comedy trifecta, spends an hour deconstructing fairy tales. "For a cynic and a misanthrope and the generally unpleasant persona that he projects, he's actually very sentimental," says David Koepf, who co-wrote and directed *Ghost Town*. "Which is usually the case with comics, but they're not always good at channeling it."

Gervais spends 10 minutes in front of a portrait, wondering what the royal guy is pointing at. He considers asking the guard but worries the guard won't know and will be embarrassed, and then worries he's being a snob by assuming that the guard won't know. In the end, he decides it's best not to risk it. Gervais, whose comedy is all about pushing discomfort, is not fond of it in his life. "I'd love to take Ricky camping," says his *Ghost Town* co-star Téa Leoni. "It would be the most entertaining four days of my life. I think it would be the first time he'd have lit a fire or been out in the wild."

Gervais already has deep thoughts about the wild. As we exit the galleries, he finally notices the view I was trying to show him by the railings. He stops and is quiet. Then he says, "Nature wins, doesn't it? You can't really compete with a few hundred million years of evolution." As we contemplate our mortality, I feel bad for judging him for quoting Keats; he has earned the right to ponder without having to amuse me. But then he adds, "Except spiders. Lose them. Nothing needs eight f _____ legs."

MOVIES

Baffled After Seeing.

Joel and Ethan Coen's follow-up to *No Country for Old Men* is a flaky spy comedy—or is it?

BY RICHARD CORLISS

IF THERE'S A KNOCK ON JOEL AND ETHAN COEN, the writer-director brothers who otherwise have enjoyed a quarter-century of critical acclaim, it's that they betray a condescension, almost a contempt, for the people they've created. From the lover-killers in the Coens' first feature, *Blood Simple*, to the babynappers in *Raising Arizona* and a raft of Minnesotans in *Fargo*, all manner of desperately striving oafs populate the Coen gallery of film art. The brothers have been very smart about their characters being very stupid.

That changed last year with *No Country for Old Men*, their faithful adaptation of the Cormac McCarthy novel about one man who steals \$2 million in drug money and another man, or monster, who chases him. Both characters were resourceful in the tradition of Hollywood heroes and villains; neither one blithered. The plot carefully built its tensions right up to a climax that confused a lot of viewers—but that too showed fidelity of the film to its source

novel. The Coens' entente with genre conventions earned Oscars for Best Picture, Screenplay and Supporting Actor (for Javier Bardem as the pursuer). Those mulish brothers had proved they knew how to play a game appreciated by the film establishment and the audience; *No Country* was by far their biggest box-office success.

But it's not their game, which is to keep moviegoers off balance. With *Burn After Reading*, the Coens are back to their old tricks. And this one is either such a cunning conundrum or such a lame jape that despite the star power of George Clooney and Brad Pitt, almost no one will get the joke.

The CIA has elbowed one of its veteran analysts—starchy, sulfur-mouthed

Do the Coens show contempt for the characters they create? Or are they just very smart about people who are very stupid?



Osborne Cox (John Malkovich)—out of the agency. In revenge, Osborne starts composing his memoirs, a computer disc of which falls into the hands of two gym employees: love-lorn Linda Litzke (Frances McDormand) and her goofball pal Chad Feldheimer (Pitt). Linda is having an affair with federal Marshal Harry Pfarrer (Clooney), who's also been servicing Osborne's icy wife (Tilda Swinton). When Chad and Linda contact Osborne to return the disc, Harry stumbles into the deal. Plot thickens; nooses tighten.

Calling All Knuckleheads

SO FAR, SO FAMILIAR. EXCEPT THAT THESE people are, in varying degrees, idiots, engaged in an enterprise that ought to be left to the higher IQed. The Coens' tactic could be a caustic commentary on the ineptitude of those employed to keep the secrets of the U.S. government (Osborne and Harry are figures of, respectively, raw bluster and empty charm), if it weren't that virtually everyone in the movie operates on seriously diminished candlepower. Linda believes that her advancing age has rendered her so unattractive that she seeks transfiguration through plastic surgery.

As for Chad, he's so blithely unknowing that he's a relief from the film's strivers and connivers. The walk Pitt gives him, appropriate less for a guest on *Dancing with the Stars* than for a heretofore unclassified creature on *Animal Planet*, is the coolest thing in the picture—tied with the portentous percussion in Carter Burwell's underscoring, which in its pile-driving fashion builds suspense that never pays off.

The movie is at one with its characters: all shiny surfaces and slick camera choreography, it looks so smart it can fool you into thinking something clever is going on or will start in just a minute. Instead, the movie devolves until it practically dissolves, and the only laughter you might hear is from the guys behind the camera.

The Coens are deadpan pranksters; editing their pictures under the pseudonym Roderick Jaynes is just the mildest of their jokes. So it's entirely possible that *Burn After Reading* is some multifilm concept comedy—that *No Country for Old Men* was a feature-length diversionary tactic from the Coens' strategy of trying the patience of their most dedicated admirers. They started with that aimless farce *The Ladykillers* and bring the genteel to fruition with their latest enervating caper. If this is so, they've managed a pretty complex joke, and it's on you. Too bad it isn't funny. ■

Dazed and confused Clooney, McDormand, Pitt and Malkovich, clockwise from top left, are players in an inept intrigue of their own making

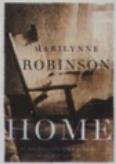
Home Is Where the Hurt Is.

In Marilynne Robinson's new novel about a prodigal son, a bad man is hard to find

BY LEV GROSSMAN

IT'S A HARD THING TO ADMIT TO being bored by Marilynne Robinson. She's a tremendous power in American fiction. She's the author of *Housekeeping*, a transcendently weird, overpoweringly sad book that was a finalist for the Pulitzer in 1982, and *Gilead*, which won it in 2005, almost a quarter-century later. When Robinson writes—as she does in her new novel, *Home* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux; 325 pages)—that the white hair of a sleeping old man is “like harmless aspiration, like a mist given off by the endless work of dreaming,” her similes are so precise and so beautiful that one knows one should not be bored. In her essays, Robinson is a ferocious advocate of the life of the mind and the spirit, and one suspects that if one possessed the virtues she celebrates, probably justly, one would not be bored by *Home*. And yet one is.

Home is a pendant to *Gilead*,



FIRST LINE

“Home to stay,
Glory! Yes!” her
father said, and
her heart sank.

or maybe a reverse-angle instant replay of it: both books are set in the 1950s in the small town of Gilead, Iowa, and are concerned with many of the same characters and events. Robert Boughton, an elderly Presbyterian minister, is dying. A widower and father of eight, Boughton's powers are fading, though he is still full of a shaky heartiness that causes him to end most of his sentences with an exclamation point. His daughter Glory, unmarried in her late 30s, has come home to take care of him, partly because she doesn't have much else to do in the wake of a failed engagement. “She had dreamed of a real home for herself and the babies, and the fiancé, a home very different from this good and blessed and fustian and oppressive tabernacle of Boughton probity and kind intent.” Such a home is not to be hers.

Soon another bird returns to the nest: Robert's prodigal son Jack. (What else would he be named?) Jack is a notoriously unemployable drunkard who in his youth stole prolifically, then fathered a child out of wedlock, then fled Gilead. He hasn't been back in 20 years. “I failed as a lowlife,” he cracks. “But not for want of—application.” A tender, troubled soul, Jack feels desperately guilty about his misdeeds, but at the same time he finds his family's Christian forgiveness unbearable. Glory and Robert are furious with Jack, but at the same time they ache with love for him. All three of them vibrate uneasily in the close quarters of Robert's time-capsule house, unsure of how to reconcile or whether they even want to. If Gilead were located a few miles

farther south, the situation would be Faulknerian. As it is, it could pass for a more austere, lyrical prequel to *The Corrections*.

Boredom is not the only feeling *Home* inspires. Awe is another one. As writers go, Robinson is among the superpowered. She moves easily in and out of minds that to a lesser writer would be solid and opaque, evoking their smallest, most intricate emotions with master-level eloquence. But at heart, *Home* is Jack's book, or it should be, and therein lies the problem. He's charming enough—God knows what the Boughton family did for the 20 years he was gone, since he's the only one in the house who can make a proper joke. He just isn't quite real. It's impossible to locate in Jack the anger and lust that drove him to defile the local women and then skip town, and Robinson leaves utterly abstract whatever misdeeds kept him busy for two decades in the flesh pits of (gasp!) St. Louis, Mo. He's one of these erudite wastrels like Stephen Dedalus who quote scripture freely, but unlike Dedalus, you can't imagine him touching anybody, even himself. He's more like Lovelace, the libertine villain in *Clarissa*: a devout person's idea of what a scoundrel might be like. And if we don't know, really know, why Jack left Gilead, we cannot feel what it costs him to come home.

There are grand things in *Home*. Perfect things, even. The way that Gilead is both idyll and prison to Glory, the birthplace of all her hopes and their tomb. Robert's long, ungraceful dive into death—“Jesus never had to be old,” he complains. But the problem of Jack leaves a slackness at the heart of the book, and Robinson never takes it in. Two-thirds of the way through, you're desperate for Jack and Glory to fall into bed together, even if they are brother and sister, just as a gesture of Christian charity toward a reader starved for incident. It's a strange thing for a novel to be full of so much wisdom and craft and still be so unsatisfying. It's as if Robinson somehow understands everything about people—their astounding strength, their pathetic weakness—but has forgotten something essential about readers. ■

Marilynne
Robinson

You're desperate for
Jack and Glory to fall
into bed, even if
they are brother
and sister

Guitar Heroes.

Metallica's ninth album is its fastest, loudest and best ever

BY JOSH TYRANGIEL

METALLICA'S NEW ALBUM, *Death Magnetic*, will have you chuckling in disbelief—a completely normal response to heavy metal. Even those of us who can't resist a good power chord have to concede that metal is a genre rarely burdened by self-awareness, which explains why Ozzy Osbourne will remain its spiritual leader for as long as he stumbles the earth. Spinal Tap is nearly 25 years old, yet bands keep naming themselves after torture techniques, and guitarists still wield their instruments like six-string phalluses. It's music that literally dares you not to mock it.

But title aside, *Death Magnetic* is no joke. Large segments of the album move with a velocity and precision that have no precedent. Let's repeat: no precedent. It's as if Metallica was determined to prove that on its ninth album it could do everything it did in its early-'90s prime—a prime that brought heavy metal as much critical acceptance and commercial success as it will ever receive—only several times faster and with more feeling. The songs fly by with the force of the world's angriest amusement-park ride, and when they set you down, often after seven or eight dizzying but tuneful minutes, giddiness is the only appropriate response.

Joy of this or any kind has been largely absent from Metallica's recent history. The group's last three records were marked by infighting and an edge of uncertainty, as if the band members—who are smarter and more sensitive than their facial hair might lead you to believe—were embarrassed by mere excellence as a metal group but unsure how to expand their emotional and thematic range. I met James



Magnetic personalities From left: Kirk Hammett, James Hetfield, Lars Ulrich and Robert Trujillo

Hetfield, Metallica's imposing singer and rhythm guitarist, shortly before the release of 2003's *St. Anger* and a week after I got engaged. Hetfield offered congratulations and joked, "Feel free to use *Enter Sandman* as your wedding song." Then he sighed. "One day we'll write something people can celebrate to." It was not surprising that *St. Anger* turned out to be weighed down by its pretensions, the musical equivalent of a sportswriter's novel.

To get itself out of the decade-long fog, Metallica jettisoned long-time producer Bob Rock and turned to Rick Rubin, bearded sage to everyone from the Beastie Boys to the Dixie Chicks. Rubin told the band to stop trying to evolve and instead to devolve, to embrace its early thrash sound and improve it. He also encouraged the group to make longer songs, a key tactical decision. *Death Magnetic*'s best track, *Broken, Beat & Scarred*, has a chaotic, minute-long intro that never telegraphs the melody line to come. It keeps bobbing and weaving until the 3:30 mark, when, just after Hetfield barks, "What don't kill ya make ya more strong," all four band members drop



The result isn't a wall of sound; it's a giant barbed-wire fence

the clutch and play as hard and as fast as they can—without sacrificing the clarity of a single note. The result isn't a wall of sound so much as a giant barbed-wire fence.

Creating nuance on a runaway train is an impressive trick, and *Death Magnetic* does it in part by reaching back to jazz. Drummer Lars Ulrich's father played with Miles Davis and was the proprietor of Copenhagen's Blue Note club, but it's the dialogue between Hetfield and lead guitarist Kirk Hammett that feels the most improvised. On *My Apocalypse*, the guitars (most of which were recorded live) tussle and throw off sparks, egging each other on. *The End of the Line* builds to another duel that appears to resolve with a Hammett solo—until the guitars reunite and a whole new melody erupts.

Lyrics? Well, they're mostly about rage and redemption, and if you fail to find meaning in them, fair enough; not everyone needs 80 minutes of anger management. But the sound of a band playing better than it ever has ought to bring a smile to your face. It certainly earned my respect. ■

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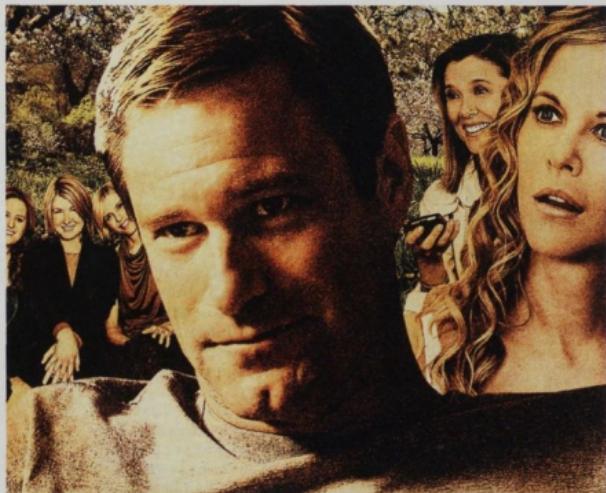
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Downtime



5 Things You Should Know About. A sci-fi standout, twangy Simpson and DIY Martha



BOOKS

Anathem By Neal Stephenson; out now

What ever happened to the great novel of ideas? It has morphed into science fiction, and Stephenson is its foremost practitioner. Here he imagines a postapocalyptic world where cloistered monks keep the secrets of mathematics safe from the fallen civilization around them. **A-**



MOVIES

The Women Written and directed by Diane English; rated PG-13; out now

There's not even one male in this update of a Clare Boothe Luce play. But the men aren't missed, what with all the dames who surround Meg Ryan's Mary Haines, the doing-it-all mom whose spouse is doing someone else. More authentic than the femme films of summer, if a little less fun. **B-**



Towelhead Written and directed by Alan Ball; rated R; out now

Making the offensive funny is not easy. It's even harder when your protagonist is a 13-year-old girl, and your subjects are sex and race. Ball's film is as cringe-inducing as an after-school special but with a larky tone that invites the audience to feel complicit. One word: *ick*. **F**



MUSIC

Do You Know By Jessica Simpson; available now

With its pat narratives, modern country excels at masking a lack of depth with a high gloss of feeling. So, good career move! Simpson navigates her twangy debut without incident until Dolly Parton shows up for a duet, clears her throat and reminds us to stop grading on a curve. **C**



TELEVISION

Whatever, Martha! Fine Living Network; Tuesdays, 9 p.m. ET.

Alexis Stewart watches reruns of *Martha Stewart Living* with Jennifer Koppelman Hutt and cracks risqué jokes about her mom's short shorts. Does anyone need to see this besides a family therapist? Take the DIY approach: mix some margaritas and make fun of *MSL* yourself. **D**

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Michael

Kinsley

Alaskanomics. Sarah Palin may have her appeal. But she isn't a tough fiscal conservative. Just look at the numbers

SARAH PALIN THINKS SHE IS A BETTER AMERICAN THAN you because she comes from a small town, and a superior human being because she isn't a journalist and never lived in Washington and likes to watch her kids play hockey. Although Palin praised John McCain in her acceptance speech as a man who puts the good of his country ahead of partisan politics, McCain pretty much proved the opposite with his selection of a running mate whose main asset is her ability to reignite the culture wars. So maybe Governor Palin does represent everything that is good and fine about America, as she herself maintains. But spare us, please, any talk about how she is a tough fiscal conservative.

Palin has continued to repeat the already exposed lie that she said, "No, thanks," to the famous "bridge to nowhere" (McCain's favorite example of wasteful federal spending). In fact, she said, "Yes, please," until this project became a symbol and political albatross.

Back to reality. Of the 50 states, Alaska ranks No. 1 in taxes per resident and No. 1 in spending per resident. Its tax burden per resident is 2½ times the national average; its spending, more than double. The trick is that Alaska's government spends money on its own citizens and taxes the rest of us to pay for it. Although Palin, like McCain, talks about liberating ourselves from dependence on foreign oil, there is no evidence that being dependent on Alaskan oil would be any more pleasant to the pocketbook.

Alaska is, in essence, an adjunct member of OPEC. It has four different taxes on oil, which produce more than 89% of the state's unrestricted revenue. On average, three-quarters of the value of a barrel of oil is taken by the state government before that oil is permitted to leave the state. Alaska residents each get a yearly check for about \$2,000 from oil revenues, plus an additional \$1,200 pushed through by Palin last year to take advantage of rising oil prices. Any sympathy the governor of Alaska expresses for folks in the lower 48 who are suffering from high gas prices or can't afford to heat their homes is strictly crocodile tears.

As if it couldn't support itself, Alaska also ranks No. 1, year after year, in money it sucks in from Washington. In 2005 (the most recent figures), according to

the Tax Foundation, Alaska ranked 18th in federal taxes paid per resident (\$5,434) but first in federal spending received per resident (\$13,950). Its ratio of federal spending received to federal taxes paid ranks third among the 50 states, and in the absolute amount it receives from Washington over and above the amount it sends to Washington, Alaska ranks No. 1.

Under the state constitution, the governor of Alaska has unusually strong powers to shape the state budget.

At the Republican Convention, Palin bragged that she had vetoed "nearly \$500 million" in state spending during her two years as governor. This amounts to less than 2% of the proposed budget. That's how much this warrior for you, the people, against it, the government, could find in wasteful spending under her control.

One thing Barack Obama and McCain disagree on is an oil windfall-profits tax. McCain is against it, on the theory that it is a tax and therefore bad and also on the theory that it would discourage domestic production. Obama is for it, on the theory that oil companies can make a nice profit when oil sells for \$50 per bbl., they can still

make a nice profit when it sells at more than \$100, even if the government takes a bit and spreads the money around to those who are hurting from higher oil prices.

Although Palin's words side with McCain in this dispute, her actions side with Obama. Her major legislative accomplishment has been to revamp Alaska's windfall-profits tax in order to increase the state's take. Alaska calls it a "clear and equitable share" tax. The state assumes that extracting oil from the tundra costs about \$25 per bbl. and takes as much as 75% of the difference between that and the sale price.

Why is a windfall-profits tax good for Alaska but not for the U.S.? Well, it's obvious, isn't it? People in Alaska are better than people in the rest of the U.S. They're more American. Although there are small towns and farms and high school hockey teams in the lower 48, there are fewer down here, per capita, than in Alaska. And there are many more journalists and pollsters and city dwellers and other undesirables who might benefit if every American had the same right to leech off the government as do the good citizens of Sarah Palin's Alaska.



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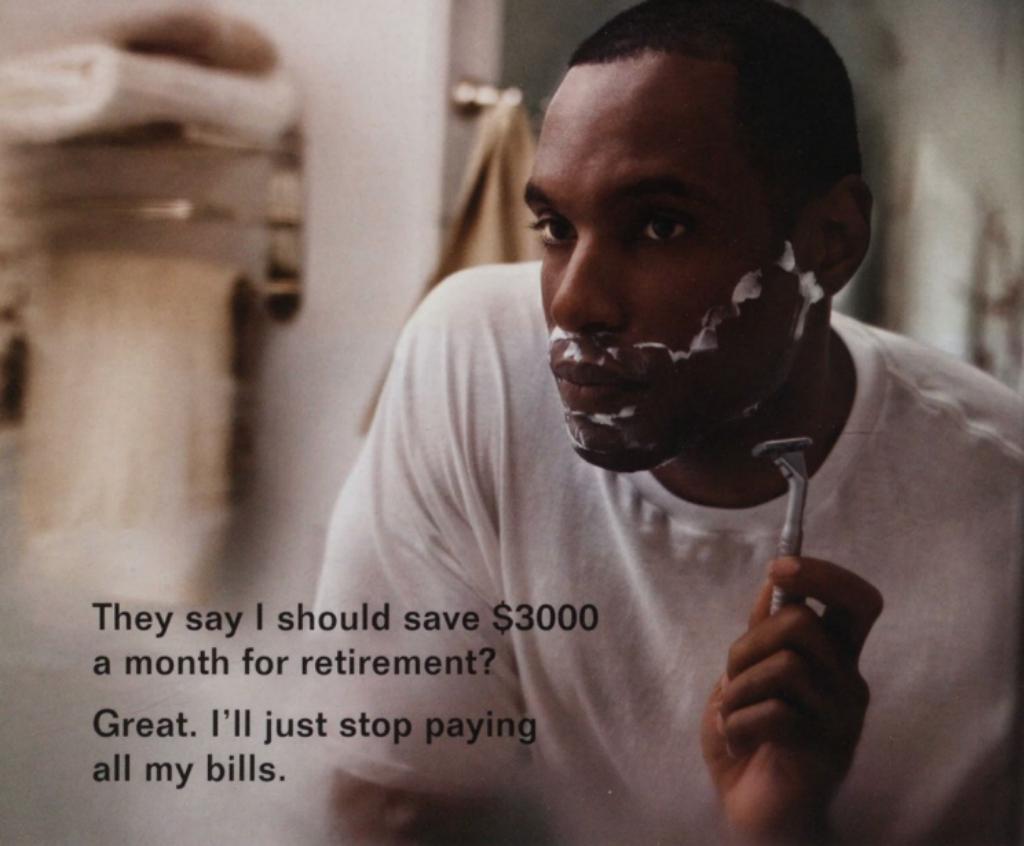
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